/2 cont./

614 The chieftaincy of each clan was filled by the oldest man,
887 who was called chunel. (It seems to have the same meaning as
156 the word catinab, but some informants recognized the latter as
the one used in the adjacent municipality of Oxchuc.) The office
was not hereditary, and upon the death of a chunel the oldest man
156 of the clan was venerated as such. The chief of the clan was re-
614 spected and feared, because he was recognized as endowed with
888 supernatural power which, through his lab, he exercised over all
776 the members of the clan. Two informants of advanced age de-
554 fined the chunel as "the oldest one and the greatest sorcerer."
The lab feeds on souls, and a person who has "done wrong" is
776 "eaten" by the lab of the one offended and dies. In this way
761 social control was exercised on and among the members of the
[784] clan, never going beyond the limits of this. The life of the in-
[626] dividual is intimately bound to the life of the lab, or guardian
776 spirit: the death of one brings with it the death of the other. All
the Cancuqueros have their lab, but they hide it and sometimes
[756] deny it. The curer knows which is the lab of the sick person be-
[827] cause "he hears it in the pulse." The lab reveals itself in dreams
[787] to "its owner," with whom it speaks because "it is his own com-
pany." One person discovers the lab of another "because he sees
it." The lab takes care of its owner, defends him, and is the in-
178 strument of revenge for an injury unjustly received. Today this
614 concept is intimately bound up with the omniscience of the patron
626 saint; only with the permission of San Juan can a lab "eat" the
776 soul of a chapomal, or "clan brother," and this permission is
granted only in the case when the saint is unfavorably impressed
by the conduct of the individual. In any case the lab never
wreaks its vengeance except for a bad act that would fully justify
614 it according to the social morality. As can be seen, social con-
626 trol was not only rooted in the chief of the clan, but this function
extended to the whole group, as happens at present.

3:Naah E-5 (1964-1965)1967
NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Teklum
[P.455-B]

621
632
178 ternated for each three-year term between the upper and lower sections.

But with the recent increase in dealings
621 between the national and regional administra-
632 tive centers and the local communities, re-
178 cruitment into office as president and síndico
554 has come to depend upon the candidates' possessing a knowledge of Spanish, literacy, and familiarity with the ways of Ladino society. Because of the relative scarcity of such skills, selection of these two officials has tended to ignore the former residence requirements
[887] relating to the dual division. Along with this change in the criteria for selecting these officials has come a decrease in the power and the authority exercised by the *principales*—elders from each side of the dual division who rose to their position by passing through all of the lower offices in the hierarchy—and a corresponding increase in the importance of the presidency.

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756 This dual division also affected the structure of the curing profession. The curers are men who can overcome sickness caused by witchcraft because of their possession of an animal spirit (*swayohel*) and their knowledge of ritual. In each of the two sections of the town was a leading curer (*statal ʔuʔul*) who, by virtue of his age, experience, and recognized authority, was able to control entry into the profession. Their function was to prevent as well as cure, for the leading curers were also charged with guarding their section against the entry of
621 witchcraft. In the last two decades, leadership
632 by recognized elder curers from each side of the
756 dual division has been lost, and along with it
178 control over limiting the practicing of curing.

555 624 794 ta for minor saints. He alternates between a period of activity and expense and one of quiet and economic recovery. The cargos alternate between church positions and civil government positions, but in communities where Indian tradition is stressed, there is no clear-cut division between civil and religious matters, because of the influence of the sacred and supernatural in daily life.

554 624 293 Those functionaries who have a staff of office wield great influence in their calpul. This cane (*nabté*), a sign of important status, is made of pine or other fine wood, and has a silver handle adorned with colored ribbons, primarily yellow, green, and red. The staff is ornamented by the owner and is considered a family object, usually placed on the home altar. Occasionally it is the object of prayers and offerings of incense. People carrying it are called *bastonudos*.

[708] [782]

624 627 It is the duty of the staff-carriers to communicate to every paraje the orders of the ayuntamiento and those coming from the supreme chief of the calpul; to summon people for communal duties; to apprehend prisoners in cases of crime; and to deal with public problems such as taxation and epidemics. Coping with transgressions such as minor stealing, adultery, disputes, and intrigues are also their responsibility within the paraje, following the traditional form of procuring mutual understanding on both sides, in a calm atmosphere, around a bottle of liquor. If conflict persists, those involved appear before chiefs of the calpul, who are called principales or "cabildos de justicia" even after they have finished their term of office.

[692]

794 The cargos from dzunubil on up are sacred and are open only to people with superior knowledge, recognized moral status, and expert experience in church ritual and in the semi-pagan ceremonies practiced in the caves, waterholes, and special mountains. These cargos are thus obtained not by automatic advancement but by special merits which are usually not acquired until advanced age. All such high representatives of

[P. 220-B]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

114 192 554

"Tata" means something like father, and the Indians use the word as a remark of respect to old men. Our old Lázaro had by now become a part of our outfit, always working, looking after the welfare of our animals and ourselves. We had come to regard him as a friend, and the name "Tata" grew out of nowhere, as the natural thing to call him.

172

FIG. 197—Toniná, Chis. Monument T-7.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajón

the informal chief of one of the semi-separated, turbulent groups already described. He was a well-built, square-faced, sullen yet cunning looking fellow, with a long scar from a machete cut across one cheek, and credited with a number of murders.

The shamans or medicine-men, *poci'*, although primarily doctors, have a quasi-priestly status, the result of the intimate relation of prayer and healing, of which more will be said later. They are honored accordingly as holy men, as well as for the power conferred by their knowledge of medicine and charms. A shaman obtains his position by some years of study under another, who teaches him both medicines and prayers. His repute largely depends upon the results of his practice.

Certain older men are selected annually to have charge of the fiestas, or saint's day celebrations; they have charge of all preparations and of the conduct of the fiesta, as well as being usually responsible for the care of the various sacred properties during the year. These officers exist in the hacienda groups as well as in the tribes. At the Finca Tecojá, where a fiesta was observed in progress, they were an amiable pair of rather drunken old men, known as *Caporales,* and at most places, in common with other officers holding posts of Spanish derivation, they were known by Spanish names. Interestingly enough, in the villages with the Governmental organization described above, they rarely coincide with the Government appointees, although this may be partly due to the fact that they are usually selected from among the oldest men. In Guatemala these semi-church officers often are a mask for tribal positions of real power, as was found to be the case with the *tcimaŭ* of Jacaltenango, who will be described in writing of that place (Chapter XIX). Here their influence and prestige was relatively slight, save during the period when their duties placed them in charge.

Almost the only trace of pre-Conquest feeling is to be found in the great reverence shown towards all shamans and Government appointees. An ordinary Indian will offer food, drink, or tobacco to all men of authority present before taking anything himself, even though it means the consumption, for instance, of almost all of a bottle of *aguardiente* before he gets any at all. We saw a chief at Tenango, where the same system prevails, take a lighted cigar from an Indian's mouth, giving him instead some unrolled tobacco leaves. When first coming into the presence of such men, or passing them on the road, an Indian will take off his hat, bowing deeply; the chief or shaman touches the Indian's forehead, and he goes on. This is performed with grace and dignity. It is known as *k'ol-tanup,* "head giving" (*k'ol* from *hol,* head). Instances were observed of thus

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

"giving the head" to certain elder women, but the reason could not be ascertained.

Marriage is an economic and social affair, apparently free of religious significance. Don Arturo Tovilla of Cacate-el, gave us a description of the manner of seeking a wife, which is here paraphrased. It will be seen that the importance, ceremonially, centers on the contract with the parents, while the actual joining in marriage is not stressed.

The boy's father goes with the boy to the girl's house, both dressed in their best clothes, and carrying a gift of three bottles (pints) of aguardiente "and some animal." His father tells the girl's father that his son wishes to marry the daughter; to which the answer is to call the girl and ask her if she likes him. She says nothing, but keeps on scratching the wall with her finger and the floor with her toe, thereby indicating that she likes the boy, while showing the proper maidenly modesty. The latter gives her a coloured handkerchief, pearl beads, etc., with which the contract is sealed.

The boy is obligated to bring to her house what the father may ask, such as corn, beans, aguardiente, as well as to help in the work for a year. He makes a social visit each Sunday, which the girl must receive. At the end of the time appointed by the parents, he takes her to his house.

If the girl does not signify her consent in the manner described, the match does not take place.

When the parents of one or both parties do not countenance the match, it may happen that the children, taking the law into their own hands, run away. The procedure in this case has become formalized so that, while unpleasant enough to act as a deterrent, it recognizes this as a regular manner of marrying. This description also is paraphrased from Señor Tovilla. [115]

When the parents forbid, but both children desire the match, after the boy has gone to the girl's house and been refused, his obligation of respect is ended. He builds a house in a retired place in the jungle. He and the girl meet to make their plans where she goes to get water, for which purpose she may often choose a spring a kilometer or more from her house. At an appointed time, they run away.

When he has carried her off and hidden her, his parents must go and apologize to hers. The girl's father tells the boy's not to leave before being punished. He, however, finds and brings in the couple, who kneel before the girl's parents. The boy's shirt is taken off, and

6: Metzger E-5 (no date) 1964- NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Aguacatenango

CHAPTER II

DRINKING PERFORMANCES AND SOCIAL ROLES

121
293*
554 The scheduling of drinking in Aguacatenango and the internal structure of individual drinking performances can be considered as a code in which information about the roles and statuses of individuals is communicated. A brief look at the inventory of social roles will provide essential background for the description of this code.

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562 The composition of the Aguacatenango household, in terms of age and sex of members, is patterned as follows: Persons in the household under twenty years of age may be of either sex and any age. The ages of members of this group, relative to each other, are minimally two years apart. Persons over twenty years of age stand in a special age relationship: There is approximately a fifteen-year minimum age difference between individuals of the same sex. Age differences between individuals of opposite sex are such that they will either be the same age or the age rule for same sex members will hold. Finally, there will be no more than one individual of each sex in any of these age slots in any household. An age-sex distribution of a house, then, looks like the following diagram.

571 551 between members of the community to identify persons in references--that is, persons who are not present in the conversation. From the speaker's point of view, they as unambiguously identify individuals as does naming the house in which they live. So, then, turning from a general consideration of the membership of houses, we now consider the variety of intersecting classes in terms of which the individuals in the houses may be identified. This listing will introduce the principal organizing features in the community, each of which will then receive separate treatment.

571 551 601 554 Terms of reference in Aguacatenango include (1) personal names; (2) relationship terms--kinship, ritual kinship or compadrazgo and other relationships of a more general nature; (3) "role names," which identify persons in terms of characteristics other than interpersonal relationships; and certain combinations of these three types.

551 Personal names

The major subclass of the set of personal names, identifiable as Christian names, is subdivided on the basis of sex; with a few exceptions, a particular Christian name is appropriate to males or to females but not to both. Christian names may be used with a possessive prefix, e.g. /H-MARIA/, "my Maria," to refer to children of the coordinating person. They can be made diminutive by the addition of /C'IN/, "little."

TABLE 5

KIN, 0 GENERATION

601
[562]

	Age relative to coordinating individual	Sex of Referent	Sex of coordinating individual	Relationship specified in head
-BANKIL	0	M	M	∅
-XI*LEL	0	M	F	∅
-WIX	0	F	M/F	∅
-IHZ'IN	Y	M/F	M/F	∅

relationship of a previously mentioned individual is rare, and we are led to hypothesize that precise genealogical relations are not crucial in the use of kin terms of 0 and ± generations. Indeed, 0 and +1 generation terms without a possessive prefix are often used in combination with names or other reference terms to indicate the relative age of the referent (when he is older than the speaker). The ranking of these terms is shown in Table 6 (p. 24).

[554] The terms /TATIK/ and /ME*TIK/ are not used in reference to kin as such, but as a collective compound, /-ME*TIK + TATIK/, they may designate either "respected elders" or "curer" in the appropriate contexts.

As in the -1 generation, modifiers /C'IN/ "little" and /MUK'UL/ "big" operate in the 0 and the +1 generations to depress

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551 these two sets of terms only as the second term but always precede names, role names, and teknonymous constructions. General relationship terms are like the terms of compadrazgo in that they may be specified by a personal name (as above).

"Role names"

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554 The set of terms to which we apply the label "role names" is distinguished by the fact that these terms usually occur unpossessed and are not defined in terms of a relationship to some person. While they occasionally have possessive prefixes, they never occur in the third person in coordinating constructions. Also, when possessed, these forms always carry the agentive prefix /-H-/, which is optional in the unpossessed variants. Thus:

Unpossessed	Possessed
/PRESIRENTE/ /H-PRESIRENTE/ "presidente"	/*AW-AH-PRESIRENTE/ "your presidente"
/H-*UL/ "curandero"	/*AW-AH-*UL/ "your curandero"

Among the forms in this class is /(H)KAX(1)AN(-ETIK)/, "ladinos (as a class)," which contrasts with the elicited from /H-TUL H-LUMAL/, "one of my pueblo (Aguacatenango)." (Both forms are included under the headword /KRISTYANO-ETIK/, "human being," which contrasts with /CAMBALAM-ETIK/, "animals," and /TUTU-TIK/, "things.")

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The dimensions of contrast are not simple here, since there is involved as well /H-TUL YAN LUM/, "one of another pueblo" in reference as well to persons other than ladinos. Furthermore, an immediate contrast that suggests itself to the informants when differentiating themselves from ladinos is:

[829]

/H-TUL LUMAL/	/KAXLAN/
/POBR-ETIK/	/K'ULEHETIK/
"the poor ones"	"the rich ones"

Among other forms of the class is a series which represents alternative terms for a single group of people, i.e., native curers:

[056]

/H-*UL~H-POXTAWAN(EH)~H-*AK'-POX/~/H-ME*TIK+TATIK/

which while possibly distinctive (we are unprepared to say until our studies of Tzeltal medicine have proceeded further), share the characteristic performance /PIK C'IC'/ "pulsing." A contrasting form /H-*OKTOR/, "doctor," marks a curer who does not know how to pulse, but who instead gives "consultations." The form /*OKTOR/ differs from the others in this subset in that it may also be used as a modifier, as in /*OKTOR PEYRO/, "Dr. Pedro" (in reference to an Indian nurse) and /*OKTOR+KAXLAN/, "ladino doctor."

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Other terms in the "role-name" class cannot conveniently be lumped under a descriptive head. Some might perhaps be labeled "occupational," but this would result in merely grouping together otherwise distinctive forms in a way which appears "reasonable" to the ethnographer. In this heterogeneous group are the following, all of which have the agentive prefix.

/H.KANAN+LUM/	"overseer of land"
/H.PRINSEPAL KRINSIPAL/	"principal, elder"
/H.GOBYERNO/	"governor (of the state)"
/H.ME*BAL/	"orphan"
/H.LO*LIWANEH/	"liar"

Another subgroup of terms lacks possessive or agentive prefixes, and these share the feature that the referents are persons outside the Indian community. These terms are the following:

/COHWER/	"driver"
/DOKTOR/	"doctor"
/DOKTOR+DENTISTA/	"dentist"
/KARPINTERA/	"carpenter"
/MASTRI/	"teacher"

Two other terms in this class are exceptions to the rule that requires the agentive prefix when possessed; /-*ANZ/, "woman," and /-WINIK/, "man," may be used with the possessive prefix alone,

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554 and the meanings of the possessed forms are "wife" or "husband"
192 of the coordinating person.

The remainder of the forms in this class are subsumed under the headword /H.*A*TEL-ETIK/, "workers."

571 On the next lower level of contrast, the headword is
554 modified by one of the mutually exclusive post-modifiers
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621 /TA KABILTO/, "in the cabildo (civil)"; /TA MARTOMIL/, "in the mayordomía (religious)." These in turn constitute head words of two mutually exclusive classes of forms. The set of contrasting forms in the class /H.*A*TEL-ETIK TA KABILTO/ is as follows (in order of ascending rank):

/MAYOR/, "policia" ranked from /XWAXKEBAL/, "eighth," to /BA/, "first" or /HEFE DE KWARTEL/

/SINTIKO/, "sindico"

/REHIDOR/, "regidor" ranked from /XCEBAL/ "second" to /BA/ "first"

/XCEBAL REHIMAL/, "second regimal"

/BA REHIMALA~ SUPLENTE PRESIRENTE/, "first rehimal or assistant presidente"

/PRESIRENTE~*AHENTE (MUNISIPAL)/, "presidente or ahente munisipal"

/XCEBAL HWES/, "second juez"

/HWES/—/*ALKAL/, "juez"

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621 (Several forms not included in this set are nevertheless part of the civil administration--/SEKRETARYO/, "secretary," /PRESIRENTE DE EDUKASYON/, "supervisor of education," and /KOMISARYADO *EYHIDAL/, "ejido commissioner.")

The /*A*TEL-ETIK TA KABILTO/ are responsible for the civil business of the community, resolution of conflicts brought before it, the maintenance of community facilities and the making of a limited number of decisions which affect the community as a whole. Its members are recruited yearly for one-year terms
641 the whole group assuming office in January. Every male in the community is expected to hold office as a civil cargo holder four times in his life, and the order of recruitment to the position for any individual is more or less fixed.

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192 The forms of the class /H.*A*TEL-ETIK TA MARTOMIL/ are grouped as follows (also in order of ascending rank):
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The first and lowest set of positions includes:

/MARTOMO SAKRAMENTO/	"mayordomo of San Antonio"
/MARTOMO ME*TIK ROSARYO/	"mayordomo of the Virgin of Rosario"
/MARTOMO ME*TIK NATIBIDAD/	"mayordomo of the Virgin of Natividad"

By lowest, we mean that set of positions into one of which an individual would initially be co-opted upon entering the mayordomía.

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554 The saint's name associated with each is that one for whose fiesta
192 the mayordomo is primarily responsible. The second and next low-
794 est set of positions includes:

/MARTOMO *ANIMA/ "mayordomo of Todos Santos"

/MARTOMO SAN MARTIN/ "mayordomo of San Martin"

The third set includes the position:

/MARTOMO SANTA CRUS/ "mayordomo of Santa Cruz"

And the fourth set includes the position:

/MARTOMO SAN SEBSTYAN/ "mayordomo of San Sebastian"

In turn, for each of the saints, there are two mayordomos, ranked relative to each other, the higher in rank being the:

/BA MARTOMO/ "1st mayordomo"

and the other being the:

/CE*BAL MARTOMO/ "2nd mayordomo"

The /*A*TEL-ETIK TA MARTOMIL/ are formally responsible for the correct interpretation of the saints' days celebrated in Aguacatenango. There are seven of these fiestas under the supervision of the mayordomía, and two /MARTOMO-ETIK/ are co-opted for each, the pair serving for one year beginning on the saint's

571 554 192 [794]

day for which they serve. Every male in the community is held responsible to be co-opted into four /MARTOMO/ positions before he is freed from any further performaces of this sort, and as was pointed out earlier, these positions must be held earlier.

The various forms of the "role-name" set most often occur as simple terms of reference, often modified by status terms. However, the combination /H-KUMPRE SEKRETARYO/ "my compadre, the secretary" is reported.

Modifiers

In addition to the basic classes of terms of reference, modifiers are important in identifying persons. Among these are enumerators, diminutives (mentioned above), and demonstratives. Two modifiers establish the physical condition of the referent-- [602] /CAM/ and /*AN(I)MA/, both glossed as "dead." One, /MERO/, noted earlier, distinguishes "legitimate" or "real" relationship from terminological equivalence, as in /MERO *ERMANO/, "true brother." 571 554 561 192 [562] Two, differing only by sex of referent, indicate advanced age: /MA MAMAL/ "old" (male referent) and /ME*L/, "old" (female referent). When these two modifiers are used with terms indicating younger persons, the incongruity expresses depreciation or derogation. Other modifiers, most of which are age-status terms like the special kin terms discussed earlier, include the following:

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/C'UL/	"holy"	honorific titles used with
/SENYOR/	"mister"	role-names of the
		/H.*A*TEL-ETIK/ group
/YAN/	"other"	
/NEK/	"big"	
/SOLTERA/	"unmarried"	used with /KEREM/ "boy" and /*AC'IX/ "girl" primarily to establish precise age-status (adolescence)
/DON DONYA/	"mister mrs."	used with names of ladinos
/NINYA/	"miss"	

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Still another set of modifiers occurs after the noun head rather than before and includes internally complex phrases. These might be termed locatives, and they include /NUN/ "there," /LI*/ "here," and such combinations as /NUN TA HEHC/, "there on the other side (i.e., in the other barrio of Aguacatenango)"; /LI* TA *ALAN/, "here below (i.e., in El Puerto, a closely related village down the mountain)"; /LI* TA TEHKLUM/, "here in the pueblo"; /LI* TA PAT NA/, "here behind the house"; /NUN TA *AHK'OL/, "here above"; and /NUN TA XOHLEH/, "there at the corner."

While the subject of the relationships (position and co-occurrence) between modifiers and between modifiers and noun heads will be deferred until a forthcoming paper, some general

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MA* ATUKELUK LA *AWAK' TA *AWO*TAN, MA* *ATUKELUK LA *AWAK' TA *AWAHC' ALEL, LA *ANA* BA*Y AME*, LA *ANA* BA*Y ATAT, KUMPAGRE, HOKOL AWALTIK, KUMPAGRE, KALEBON XC'IN WINKLEL.

You didn't use your wealth by yourself, you didn't consume it by yourself. You remembered your mother, your father, your compadre. Thank you, compadre. Find someone to pour the drinks.

This exchange initiates the ceremonial drinking sequence. (The sequence is composed of a series of acts; a set of drinking sequences constitutes a drinking cycle.) Upon the termination of the speeches, the owner of the aguardiente asks a junior male to take a proffered liter bottle of aguardiente and a shot glass and offer a drink to each of the men present.

The server must initiate the act of drinking with every other male in the group. Whatever the quantity of aguardiente in the liter bottle, it must be equally distributed among all those present including himself. The drink server must estimate the amount of aguardiente in the bottle and fill the shot glass accordingly. The relative order of initiating the drinking act with the several persons present must proceed from persons of greater rank to persons of lesser rank. As has been suggested in the role inventory, there is a near-perfect correlation between age and rank in Aguacatenango. Hence, the oldest male present is served first and the youngest male present is served next to last, the drink pourer himself being served last. Since the drink server is a junior male, his relative position of

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273 554 drinking is not far from his actual position--that is, he would have been served near the end of the drinking sequence in any case. (It may be the case that the depression of his status by being served last is compensated for by the fact that a person of senior status, the host, serves him.)

When the drink server has offered a drink to each man in the group, he returns the bottle to its owner, and the owner initiates the drinking act with the drink server. This act terminates the drinking sequence. After it is terminated, no drinking acts take place for a period of time generally as long as the drinking sequence itself. All drinking acts, then, take place within drinking sequences.

The relative positioning of drinking acts in the drinking sequence distinguishes the participants by rank. In such a context, the isolatable drinking act encodes one's own rank relative to all other persons present, or, alternatively, each person's rank relative to every other. In the drinking sequence the drinking act assumes symbolic value. It measures one's status. It takes on a code value on the dimension of status. The drinking sequence is a message, then, which encodes an individual's rank, the particular value of rank in this message being determined by the position in the message which any particular individual's coded value falls.

Many if not most of the inferences that human beings draw

about the state of their environment are deduced as the result of the communication of information encoded in some one or more media. The determination and certification of an individual's social rank is one type of inference and action that individuals engage in in Aguacatenango. Rank and role are not only encoded in the drinking performances, but also in a variety of other media as well. When we examine the ceremonial drinking cycle as it occurs in the civil and religious hierarchies, it becomes clear that the arrangement of persons in space, modes of greeting, modes of offering toasts, the differential access to settings, etc., all may encode an individual's social position just as do the set of role labels that may be used to identify him.

After the settlement of a dispute, after having agreed to permit a /HTUL YAN LUMAL/, "foreigner," to settle in the community, and on certain saints' days (especially those saints associated with the installation of new civil officers), the /*A*TELETIK TA KABILTO/, or civil hierarchy, is given or secures for itself aguardiente in liter bottles. The aguardiente is equally distributed in shot glass amounts among the members of the /*A*TELETIK/, a particular individual drinking the glass which is offered him; or alternative should he choose not to drink it, taking a sip from it and handing it to some other member of the group who drinks the remaining portion and returns the glass to the first drinker, who in turn returns it to the

273* 554 pourer of drinks. It is in the succession of drink-pouring to the several members that we observe an orderly recurring pattern.

The drink pourer, who is one of the /REHIDOR-ETIK/, proceeds directly to the /HWES/. The REHIDOR/ carefully pours the drink, picking any dirt from the liquid, and hands it to this individual. The /HWES/ then offers the drinking salute: /LISENSYA TAT/, "With your pardon, sir." The other members of the group respond with /*OCAN TAT/, or alternatively /*OCAN TATA*/, "down it, sir," or, "down it, respected sir." The drink pourer /REHIDOR/ then proceeds to serve succeeding persons down the rank order. The rank order may be observed in the seating arrangements displayed in Table 11 (p. 60). Beginning at the door, the relative order of succession is down the page, through the position /SINTIKO/. Then the position just above the door is served and so on through an adjacent succession through the position of /XWAXKEBAL MAYOR/.

*273 796 794 554 One of the important performance correlates of the role of mayordomo is to engage in the drinking of aguardiente. Almost without exception, the mayordomos as a group drink themselves into a state of deep drunkenness on each of the seven fiesta days. The initiation of the drinking takes place on the porch of the annex of the church. Benches run the length of the porch on its inside and outside edges. As the mayordomos as-

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 61]

6: Metzger E-5 (no date) 1964 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Aguacatenango

TABLE 11

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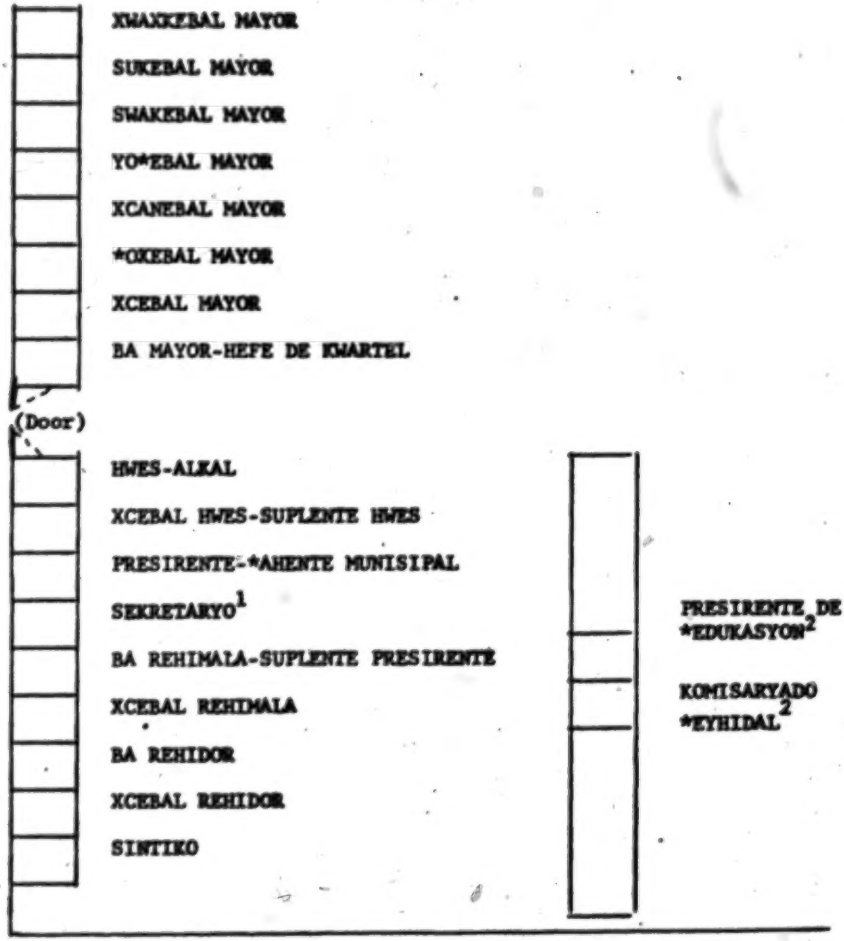
SOME PERFORMANCE CORRELATES OF "RANK" WITHIN /*A*TEL-ETIK TA KABILTO/: SEATING ORDER



[1]The position of secretary is by appointment and is not included in the civil hierarchy.

6: Metzger E-5 (no date) 1964 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Aguacatenango

TABLE 11--Continued

000 not included in the civil hierarchy.

273* 2 The positions of president of education and ejido
621 commissioner are two-year appointments, and neither is (yet)
554 in the civil hierarchy.

273* semble, they seat themselves initially on the inside of the two
796
794 benches. The relative order of seating is as follows:
554

TABLE 12

SOME PERFORMANCE CORRELATES OF "RANK": SEATING ORDER OF /*A*TEL-ETIK TA MARTOMIL/

BA MARTOMO SAKRAMENTO

XCEBAL MARTOMO SAKRAMENTO

BA MARTOMO ME*TIK ROSARYO

XCEBAL MARTOMO ROSARYO

BA MARTOMO ME*TIK NATIBIDAD

XCEBAL MARTOMO ME*TIK NATIBIDAD

BA MARTOMO *ANIMA

XCEBAL MARTOMO *ANIMA

BA MARTOMO SAN MARTIN

XCEBAL MARTOMO SAN MARTIN

BA MARTOMO SANTA CRUS

XCEBAL MARTOMO SANTA CRUS

BA MARTOMO SAN SEBSTYAN

XCEBAL MARTOMO SAN SEBSTYAN

6: Metzger E-5 (no date) 1964 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Aguacatenango

273* 796 794 554 The drinking of aguardiente takes place on the porch after the men are seated. Again the aguardiente is distributed in shot glass amounts to each member of the mayordomía. Again, as in the case of the civil officials, a strict relative order of succession of drinking is followed, proceeding from the top of Table 12 (p. 61) to the bottom.

273* 621 794 554 In both the referential sets of civil officials and religious officials, then, there are occasions when both seating arrangements and drinking arrangements uniquely express a relative order property in the relations between members of each set. This relative order property we can call <u>differential rank</u>. While this type of rank is a somewhat special case, it is essentially the same age differential which establishes rank in [561] the community at large. The civil and religious hierarchies are very nearly age-graded, the higher-ranking positions being occupied by older men. A survey of the histories of individuals' cargos indicates that the age grading is more strict in the case of the mayordomos than in the case of the civil officials. In each set of officials, men with adjacent ranks sit next to each other and drink in succession, the man with the higher rank sitting in an arbitrarily defined higher position on the bench and drinking sooner. It is important to note that of a variety of ways in which the aguardiente could be used to express the rank difference (e.g., the distribution of larger amounts to the senior

273* 621 794 554 positions), only relative order of drinking is used. It is the arbitrary selection of order as the medium of communication of roles and ranks that leads us to describe drinking performances as a code.

*273 621 794 554 561 We have observed that on the occasion of ceremonial drinking, not only will the relative age differences of the adult males be expressed in the relative order in which they are served aguardiente, but so also will they arrange themselves spatially in such a way that the drink server will be able to meet the obligation of serving the older person first without skipping anyone in the seating order. In other words, men, in the first stages of ceremonial drinking, will arrange themselves in order of relative age-rank, and thus receive in perfect spatial and temporal succession the aguardiente which they drink.

273* 621 794 554 533 The ceremonial drinking sequence is associated with the presence of a marimba which plays throughout the course of the fiesta and the departure of which signals the termination of the same. While the marimba players are paid to play at the fiesta, with regard to the consumption of aguardiente they are treated as are all other males who are present. In some cases, they will be offered drinks with greater frequency to begin with, as it is supposed by the host that they will play more frequently and will charge less if they are somewhat intoxicated.

000 The ceremonial drinking sequence is regularly associated

273* monial drinking pattern, the curer, no matter what his age rela-
755 tive to the age of others present, is served first.[1]

273* Drinking by participants in the curing ceremony appears
539 in several text fragments as follows:

MAC'ATIK X*ULAH NAL YA HUC' TRAWO X*OC SPAS POX YU*N HIC *AY SPERSA *A.

Those who cure drink trago first before they go in to cure in order to increase their strength.

SPISIL YO*TAN X*OC TA POSTAWANEH.

So that they will be confident when they go in to cure.

HA* LA YAK' BALOR HAL TRAWI.

It's the aguardiente that gives strength.

PERO *AY H*OLIL MA*K YUC'IK TRAWO HIC NAX YA SPAS POSTO, HA* HIC YA SPASIK POX H*ULELTIK *ABI.

But there are some who don't drink trago before they cure, that's the way they are.

Also:

M. TU*L LIHK YU*C'K.

How did they begin to drink?

C. *E HA* XK'O YILIK HAL XC'IN YAHTAL YO*TAN HKUMXE SME* HOSEPA NUN E.

They went to attend the delivery of my comadre, Josefa's mother, over there.

---

[1] From this relative positioning of drinking we conclude
[756] [554] that the role of curer in the curing situation has more status than the role of old man. In most situations, as has been previously noted, the oldest man present is generally served first.

6: Metzger E-5 (no date) 1964 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Aguacatenango

CHAPTER V

SUMMING THE MATTER UP

273* 554 There are basically two patterns of drinking among the Aguacatenangueros. The first of these we may define as the internally complex unit ± ceremonial drinking ± informal drinking (but at least one of these). The second of these we will define as intermittent non-cumulative drinking--that is, drinking performances which do not lead to deep drunkenness. These two patterns of drinking performances are associated with large classes of the population. The ceremonial drinking ± informal drinking pattern is expressed by married males. The intermittent non-cumulative drinking pattern is expressed by all other persons (unmarried males and all females).[1] When individuals drink, they are constrained to express one pattern or the other as is congruent with their role. By drinking in a particular way, an individual certifies his membership in a particular role class.

273* 57 885 Adult males (equivalent to males married at least once) drink within the limitations of the ceremonial drinking ± in-

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[184] [171] [1]This particular contrast is not general to all Tzeltal-Tzotzil speakers in the Chiapas highlands.

6: Metzger E-5 (no date) 1964 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Aguacatenango

273

Ceremonial drinking-informal drinking performances are deeply imbedded in Aguacatenango life. Another measure of this imbeddedness is the degree to which the performances in drinking operate under a special, well-defined, contrastive set of rules, as compared with performances that are entertainable while individuals are sober. The behavior of drunken individuals requires special interpretation by others and is rarely used as a basis for character judgment.

Ceremonial drinking and informal drinking performances are actively called for in situations of high ritual or ceremonial salience. Under these circumstances all adult males who are present are expected to drink in well measured amounts to a degree that leads to deep drunkenness. Individuals who engage [554] in these performances minimally share the features of being married males. These are required performances, namely performances which no man can either opt to do or not to do. Options occur in informal drinking performances only in the sense that some men extend the informal drinking beyond what counts as a minimal unit.

In the case of required performances, individuals who do not participate in them are told that they will occur. In the case of drinking performances, for example, women are told that the ceremonial drinking-informal drinking pattern will be acted out. They are further told of the known side effects of these performances.

273* proper interpretations of drinking behavior can only proceed as rapidly as careful descriptions of drinking behavior are formulated. Drinking performances anywhere in the world occur in more or less well defined contexts which are subject to well ordered descriptions. One cannot judge any individual's drinking performances until and unless he has discovered the contextual rules in terms of which this individual is operating. It has [121] been the intent of this thesis to point to some of these kinds of contextual rules.

273* 554 In Aguacatenango drinking performances reflect important principles of social organization which are elsewhere attested in other performances which are not drinking performances. In drinking performances there is a simultaneous mapping of differences in social status and role as there is a statement of how the wealth in the community should be divided. In any drinking [561] performance, men of senior age and generation drink first, their juniors drinking later. Women and children drink separately and in small amounts. While the relative order of drinking marks the relative status of the men present, all men drink the same amount. Not only does this clearly delineate men's and women's roles but it also expresses the condition that across time, every man can expect to occupy a status position senior to the one he presently has. Such changes in status are not dependent [556] upon the achievement of great wealth since everyone should have

273 554 556 this in equal amounts (as mapped by the equal amounts of aguardiente they receive). In fact, as we have earlier observed, drinking performances are regularly scheduled, explicitly verbalized events in which differences in real wealth are leveled.

121 The ethnographic aims of this thesis may be summed up more or less as follows. It is clear, now, that it is possible to describe systems within culture in terms relevant and significant to those who are participants in that culture. This thesis has aimed to formulate such a description of drinking behavior in Aguacatenango. The procedures we have discussed in the earlier chapters are general in the sense that they are, it now appears to us, applicable to any culture, and to most foci or domains therein. One should not be surprised, however, if some varieties of learned behavior are not directly accessible to study in this fashion.

000 Though some notions from structural linguistics seem relevant, the immediate relevance of linguistic data is as an aid in discovering and relating other cultural patterns. McQuown's reading of Whorf's (1941) statement regarding "fashions of speaking" seems relevant here: "This approach [Whorf's] would seem to de-emphasize the role of linguistic patterns as such and to stress the function of language as a medium for the manifestation of other cultural patterns, in which precise formal characteristics of the medium were merely limiting and not determining

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

342 177 178 434 of witchcraft. Today probably 95 percent of the new roofs are made of tile. Often the old roofs cannot be replaced with tile because the rafters were not built to support them. One result of the change has been the dependence on a carpenter to construct the gables, since they have to be lined up more accurately than they do with thatch or palm roofs. [335]

361 351 434 House lots in the town center are preferred to those on the margins. As residents of house sites on the ejido lands at the margins of the town acquire wealth, one of the first things they try to do is acquire a house closer to the plaza. These lots are smaller, averaging about 500 square meters, while those farther out average 900 square meters. In a sample measurement of 100 house lots, the size ranged from 180 to 1,440 square meters, and the average size was 77 square meters. Considering the advantages of a large lot in growing chile fruits and corn, the preference for smaller central lots reveals the strong prestige factor influencing choice. [554]

352 435 [513] House furnishings include both purchased and homemade items. Sleeping accommodations consist of wooden bedboards, either nailed on a frame or simply laid on blocks and covered with a straw mat. Woolen blankets from Comitán are sold locally at a price of 24 pesos or for 20 pesos in San Cristóbal and 18 pesos in Comitán. Most households own two or three wooden benches which line the walls of the porch and are made locally. Small chairs are purchased from Chamula carpenters at a cost of 2 to 4 pesos, as well as a small table costing about 4. A higher table [708] is provided for the saints' pictures and candle holders, incense burner, and [322] flower vases or tin cans. Hooks are fashioned from the crotch of trees and suspended on the house posts. Wooden boxes are bought from Ladino carpenters in San Cristóbal at a cost of 10 to 20 pesos depending on size and workmanship and are used to store clothing. In addition to the homemade water holders, water carriers, comales, strainers, and bowls, handmade glazed ware from San Cristóbal, factory-made porcelain dishes, metal cooking pots, knives, and spoons are purchased. Gourds provide serving ware for ceremonial occasions. Stone grinding platforms and rollers are purchased in San Cristóbal for about 10 pesos. Two new items have become increasingly popular in the past five years: a metal grinding machine for corn, hand operated and costing from 40 to 60 pesos depending on the size and quality, and a hinged press for tortillas, costing 15 pesos if made

415 435 439 [412] 435 415 177

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

in the house in which he lives. The midwife, the only person present besides the mother, performs the ritual. She puts cold water in the child's mouth and then goes to the door, saying, "Enter if you arrive, little boy [or little girl]." Then she brushes the child with pine branches dipped in springwater, and smokes with incense of pitch pine the clothing which is then put on the child. The incense "makes a path for the soul to find the body of the child." As she does this, she says, "May your heart be one now that you are in the house." This ceremony is always performed when the child is born outside his parents' residence is order to guide his soul to its proper locale. Three days later, a ceremony called *sti? mut* (eat the chicken) takes place. Only women attend this meal. In one case I observed, the child's mother, her three sisters, mother, and husband's cousin attended. Each woman brings a peso's worth of bread, some chocolate, and ten tortillas. Two hens are cooked in boiling water, and the food is eaten by the women.

Baptism, called "throw the water" (*?ič ha?*) occurs as soon as possible after the new-born child's twentieth day of life. If the parents of the child live with either the mother's or the father's family, the grandparents will choose the godparent, or *padrino*. The actual decisions recorded for four families in Table 20 can be compared with statements of preference as to who should be godparents. People say they prefer nonrelatives ("We are not deceived by them"), people of the same section of the dual division ("We like to greet them in the street") and finally people of good reputation. The individual or couple chosen as godparent becomes *compadre* or co-parent to the parents of the child.

People seem to be successful in realizing the preferences they state. 81 percent of compadres are chosen from their own side of the dual division, and only 4 percent are chosen from out of town. 71 percent of compadres are chosen from among nonrelatives. A significant factor in the choice of compadres is maintaining good neighbor relations. Most families surround themselves with a ring of compadres which neutralizes both the fear of being the object of witchcraft and of being accused of witchcraft. Factors of wealth, prestige, and status positions—particularly that of fiscal—are also taken into consideration in choosing a compadre. Most of the padrinos of baptism are chosen from among older members of the community,

7t Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

761 might be. The father or closest male kin of the dead person is careful to
627 recount all the consultations he has had with curers, both to absolve him-
753 self of the guilt of neglect or unconscious witchcraft and to search for the true culprit.

764 A proper burial with holy water, flowers, grave offerings, and prayers as-
775 sures the survivors that the soul of the deceased will rest and his bones will lie in peace. Lacking any of these features, the dead will disturb the living, as is recounted below:

During the revolution, many were buried without a funeral or without blessed water. On Thursday, the bones burn and cry. You can still see a blue flame rising above the old graveyard on Thursday. You can find money that the ancestors left there, but you have to go at night to dig it up.

An important safeguard to ensure that the soul will lie in peace is burial among people with whom the deceased lived. When a married adult dies, [593] he is buried with his dead spouse. If he had two dead spouses, he is buried with the first spouse on the right hand and the second on the left. A child [603] is buried with the grandparents of the household in which he lived—that is, if he lived with his mother's parents he is buried with them, and if with the father's parents, then with them. When people know that they [763] are going to die, they express their preference as to where they wish to be [593] buried. Usually they will elect to be buried between their dead parents, but [608] if they were unhappy with their parents, they might choose a padrino or [604] uncle. If dissatisfied in its resting place, a soul, even when properly buried, cannot find peace and wanders back to the house. Fearing this, relatives try to comply with the wishes of the dead.

My grandfather used to say that he wanted to be buried between his mother and father. But when he was about to die, he said, "I don't want to be buried there because my father beat me. He will continue beating my soul. I want to go on the side [of the cemetery]. Please don't bury me near my parents." My father said, "All right, we will put you on the side."

764 The funeral must meet the expectations of the community as well as
554 those of the deceased and his relatives. The mature children of a man who
626
593

dies are expected to give a funeral appropriate to his station in life and his wealth, as is expressed in the following account:

When my father got sick, he told his wife not to put him in a black box. He had heard a story that when the dead man is in a black box, his spirit cannot see. He wanted to be in a white box. He told this to his brother. But his brother wanted to get a black box. He bought one black box for three hundred pesos when my father died, because it is the custom of the pueblo to bury adults in a black box. The people would talk if we did not buy a good box because they knew he had animals. We spent six hundred pesos for the funeral. We presented the body in church for a mass. We had a singing mass for thirty pesos, and the box cost three hundred pesos. We had a common meal of beef in the house, and we spent two hundred and sixteen pesos for three garrafones of liquor. Each of his sons contributed sixty pesos for that. If we hadn't given him a good funeral, people would have said, "His children are very lax not to buy a good box to bury their father."

The padre says that all bodies should be presented in the church. He says if you don't have money, you don't have to pay for the mass. But we are ashamed if we don't pay because he does work for us. He charged only twenty-five pesos because he said my father worked hard for the town. We took a collection from all the people who were there, and it amounted to one hundred and thirty pesos. We paid the padre for the mass and gave a contribution. All the people in whose houses he had passed when he was alive came to see him. They said, "Ah, his children gave a very nice box for their father."

If all of the family is poor, no one talks if the funeral is not a good one. But if there is anything that can be sold, it will have to be to make a good funeral. When my father died, he had eighteen horses. We had to sell one, and each of the children gave one hundred pesos.

Some say the souls play the harp and drink liquor when they arrive in heaven. On All Soul's Day they visit the village where they had lived and where they are known. For each member of the household who had died, a specific portion of food is laid out. Special likes are catered to: a bottle of liquor will be set on the table for a deceased father, soda pop for children

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

they will go to the church wedding. The parents of the couple embrace the godparents. They go dance in the house.

The paranoic fantasies of this young curer, a man in his early thirties, characterize the world of fears, both real and demonic, which the curers sometimes manipulate and by which they are sometimes victimized. The young curers in their thirties and forties tend to have more domestic disputes than most men in town. Emilio, a man in his forties who has been trying to assert his stature as leading curer of Alannantik since his predecessor was killed for witchcraft, was deserted by his wife. She fled to a neighbor's house. In a drunken rage, he tried to burn it to the ground. When his attempt failed, he threatened to bring "heat" from the Cave of the Star to cause an epidemic after which, he said, he would "eat the souls of the children by the dozen." In the line of duty, curers are often required to get drunk, and drunkenness loosens the cautions which control behavior. Gloating in the power of their swayoheles, there seems to be no limit to the threats or acts they commit. While drinking has probably always been part of curing ceremonies, the behavior noted in the cases described seems to be a response to the growing insecurity on the part of the curers about their status.

The curer reveals in his speech and acts the motivation of power. In Tzo?ontahal, power means freedom from one's own fears as well as from the human and supernatural sanctions imposed on those who ignore the norms governing behavior. The proof of his power lies in the ability to inspire fear in others. For this reason, the curer brags of the evil deeds he has committed or is capable of doing, even though this may bring about his own destruction.

Curing Behavior

In their role as "doctors" for the individual patient, curers are referred to as *?u?ul* and are addressed with the honorific title *tatín*. Despite the declining belief in their guardianship function, there has been a retention of belief in their power to overcome witchcraft. Only the curer, because he possesses a swayohel, can deal with illness caused by witchcraft. Even if

7t Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

794 may at any time in his career be called upon as alférez. This may occur
[625] even before he has served as a junior mayordomo or policeman since the
[556] post depends on his own or his father's wealth.

621 The normal career of an official in the traditional hierarchy involves a
794 balance of civil and religious posts. A man enters these posts according to
561 convenience, not in a rigid alternation between civil and religious wings. The rough balancing of posts can be seen in the careers of men over fifty in Table 25. According to informants, a man should start and end his career in the religious wing. By the age of thirty, forty-three men had filled at least one post in the religious hierarchy, and only twenty-four men had served in the civil hierarchy (Table 24). The religious posts are considered less onerous than the civil posts since the incumbents are in attendance only one day a week instead of every day, and their terms in office last only six months.

621 Wealth level, except in cases of extreme poverty, does not limit a man's
794 participation in the traditional hierarchy. Of fourteen men over seventy,
556 eight had completed their civil posts and seven their religious posts. Three who had not followed the traditional career lines had served as president. The town is small enough so that career lines have not followed any polarization of the upper levels of the hierarchy as occurs in towns of larger size (Bunzel 1952, Camara 1952, Cancian 1965). Discrimination is based on residence rather than wealth—those Indians who reside in barrios and colonias cannot reach any post higher than that of assistant judge. Wealth level is a factor, however, in the time span of the individual's career, since at some time before becoming second or first regidor he must have filled the expensive post of alférez. Table 25 lists the careers of men fifty years of age and over in order of wealth. It is possible to finish a career in office by the age of fifty, but if a man has less than one hectare of land, it is unlikely that he will finish before he is sixty-five. The Indians of Tzo?ontahal do not however maximize the importance of passing through the hi-
[554] erarchy. It is a duty not a goal, and the reward in prestige is minimal.

794 The only post in which wealth has been crucial was that of alférez. The
556 incumbent and the household of which he was a member spent 3,000 pesos
796 to carry out the fiestas with which he was charged in his year in office.
666 The president, the four judges, and the four regidores chose the alférez

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

642 The statement of functions of the civil officials as codified in the state
621 constitution contrasts with that of local informants first of all in the brev-
626 ity of the latter. This indicates the lack of functional specificity in the role
• 554 as conceived by Indians in contrast to its Spanish-derived model. The latitude of acceptable performance in the role is best indicated by the statements concerning why a man is relieved of office. A man might be dismissed because he "fights a lot," because he "gets drunk and fights," or because he "steals a lot." The qualification "a lot" suggests the difficulty of actually ridding the town of an incumbent who has caused difficulties while in office. There are only two posts in which deposition actually has occurred: those of president and fiscal. Both these posts represent mediating roles between local and national interest groups. The deposition of the president Augustín recounted in Chapter 9 indicates the kind of community action which can be mobilized. Significantly, failure to perform prescribed duties is not mentioned.

621 Second, it is the presence of the officials, not their specific obligations,
554 which is of significance in the local context. "Sitting" therefore is a central and active duty. Each morning at about seven o'clock the officials gather to sit on the benches on the porch of the town hall. The president and síndico sit inside at the table. They return at six in the evening to sit again. The line-up of the civil authorities at their appointed places each morning and evening is a statement of social control. Their presence gives evidence of an authority ready to act against offenders.

A third feature of contrast is that the local statement of functions includes many of the ceremonial activities of the civil officials. Thus the president has the significant duties of seeing that the banners pass into the town hall at the time of a fiesta, and of going to the house of the alférez when the banners are moved in procession. The holiness of office is associated with the holy symbol of the banners. For the police, collecting the 20-peso portions of meat when a bull is butchered for ceremonial meals is as significant as apprehending criminals.

Ritual Behavior

In ritual behavior, the status of officials is projected in role performance. Relative position in each ceremonial setting is an index to rank.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

Priorities in service and salutations validate the prestige of the incumbent. Rituals also provide the occasion for noting social change. Divergencies between expected and enacted sequences are a clue to shifts in authority and prestige. Conflict between competing interests often comes to the surface when structural features are made explicit in ritual performances. This is particularly true in these Indian villages where drinking liquor releases inhibitions. The inaugurations of officials in the civil and religious hierarchies are analyzed below to show how they reflect both continuity and change.

Inauguration of civil officials. Legal provision for the installation of the civil officials is minimally stated in the constitution of the state of Chiapas (Secretaría del Gobierno Departamental de Chiapas, 1841:4):

1. The judges and regidores elected will present on the 30th of December their credentials to the Secretary of the civil branch in order that he will put an account of them in a book.
2. Having verified this, he will give an account to them on the following day in the town hall, for which he will name a commission of three people who will identify the people named.
3. On the 1st of January of each year the first judge will meet in the meeting room and present the oath before the civil officials, chaired by the Prefect or Subprefect along with the remaining members of the group, as is stated in article 164 of the law of the 20th of March, 1837. The form of the oath will be the following:

   "I swear to God to preserve and to have others preserve the constitutional laws decreed and sanctioned by the National Congress in the year of 1836". To which the response will be, "Yes, I swear."

   Concluding the oath, they will take their seats. The outgoing officials will cease their functions, and they will be withdrawn from the place of the meetings.

The elaboration of ritual beyond the requirements of the law in household settings as well as in the town hall reveals the significance of ceremonial acts in these small, endogamous communities. The inauguration is a

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

621 527

síndico first, followed by the two first judges, the assistant judges of the barrios, the regidores, the judges of the colonias, the two first police, followed by the rest of the police in pairs. As they enter, they kneel and make the sign of the cross, or "measure their noses" (sp'is sni?ik), *an act which shows respect to the holy banners that the alfereces have delivered from the church and laid on the table in the town hall. On this same table are strewn orange blossoms and leaves of laurel with the newly peeled canes of the police and the old staffs of office of the higher officials. The new officials put on their rosaries as they prepare to receive their staffs.* [788]

The principales, fairly inebriated from drinking all morning as they awaited the arrival of the new officials, pass out the staffs assisted by the old president, who helps direct them as they wander in a daze from the table to the line of waiting officials. The second principal picks the staff from the table and hands it to the first principal who passes it on to the recipient. The act of passing over the staffs is a significant index to their role in the hierarchy. They are the only "permanent" officials—permanent so long as they are in good health and not impoverished. They are the link between the outgoing and incoming officials.

The oath of office was given in Spanish by the Ladino schoolteacher the year I observed the ceremony. Formerly, this was performed by the Ladino secretary, but a contest of power in the community resulted in this shift in role performers [*Chapter 9*]. *The inventory of the town's possessions is read by the "old" president*[4] *and each item is inspected as it is passed on to the "new" president.*

After the ceremony in the town hall, all the old officials scatter to their homes and the new officials, wearing their rosaries, go to the church. The principales wait in the town hall for their return.

621 527 788 [794] [554]

The new officials follow the alfereces out of the town hall in a procession. The four alfereces, holding their banners, line up before the town hall and dip their banners toward the town hall and then toward the church. They lead the procession of new officials two times around the plaza, stopping in front of the church to dip the banners toward it and the town hall. The order of the procession indicates the rank order of the offi-

4. The officials who have completed their year in office are referred to as "old," and the incoming officials are referred to as "new" at this event.

7t Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

621 527 [788] [554] *cials, from the last policeman to the first and second judges. The procession makes two turns "to show [the townspeople assembled in the plaza] who the new officials to remain in office are."*

[794] [782] *Awaiting the arrival of the new officials in the church are all of the mayordomos. Their function is "to watch the officials as they enter to see who they are." The new officials enter two by two and proceed to the altar rail where they "speak to God," asking for health so that they can fulfill their obligation to the town. They kiss each of the saints' pedestals and then leave the "holy mother church" to return to the "holy father cabildo."*

621 527 273 *The first order of the new president is to ask the fourth regidor to buy two liters of the "gift of the ancestors," contraband liquor. When the liquor arrives, the first judge rises and goes to the principales. Standing before them while they remain seated, he asks permission of God to "receive the gift," or drink the liquor, saying, "Give pardon, Mamal Krinsipal; let a little enter and warm your body."*

The policemen, after leaving the church, enter the kitchen shack attached to the town hall. The first new policeman orders the fourth policeman to bring a little trago, and when he returns with the liquor, the first policeman orders one of the policemen of the colonias to measure the drinks. They drink one liter, after which the first policeman of the lower division addresses the first policeman of the upper division in the pas?o-?tan. After the spatbeyo?tan, *or formal address, the first policeman wonders "whether they can endure a little more. Can they drink more liquor without getting drunk?" It is his responsibility to receive any orders from the president, and he wonders, "What should happen if we get drunk? We won't know if there is an errand for the mamal judge and we cannot help. Better rest a while, and if there is an errand we can help a little. If there is no errand, let us drink a little more until midday." At twelve noon both groups retire to their homes to rest their hearts.*

794 527 *Inauguration of religious officials.* The change of the mayordomos occurs twice annually, once on January 6 and a second time on the Day of San Pedro and San Pablo, June 29. San Pedro is associated with

7t Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

794 527 *ranged with a large table in the center, the candles allotted to each mayordomo laid out in bundles of nine. On the table is a little cross of the crucified Christ. The priest blesses the new mayordomos and the old mayordomos. Then the fiscal gives nine candles wrapped in a napkin to each mayordomo. The niʔ'nal, junior mayordomo, of each saint first takes the candles allotted to the tatil to the latter's house, and then takes his own to his house. After the oath, the new mayordomos return to the house of the Cofrade of Sacramento where they drink until prayer time in the evening.*

[788] [273]

On the sk'ak'alel Sk'in, *the true day of the fiesta, the new mayordomos go to hear the mass along with women prayer-reciters at seven in the morning. They then go to the house of the Cofrade of Sacramento, leaving three junior mayordomos to play the drums and flute at the door of the church. In the house of the cofrade, they count the money of the Virgin and of San Pedro the Martyr. This fund of money is passed over from the outgoing officials to the incoming officials along with interest. It is now being loaned out to local entrepreneurs. The Virgin has a fund of 228 pesos, and San Pedro the Martyr has 40 pesos. The fiscal supervises the counting of the money, and records the sum, after which the patʔoʔtan is recited and drinks are served.*

[533] [454]

621 554 In the behavioral sequences of the inauguration, several features of the structure and functioning of the hierarchy can be noted. First, one can see in the actions of the officials that the hierarchy of civil officials is not a smooth step ladder but a segmented order. The categories of officials, the alkaletik, rehiroletik, and mayoletik, act in concert, move in unison, and sit in the same area in all the settings. Each of the three categories has its internal hierarchy, ranging from first to fourth (and in the case of the mayoletik, from first to fifth, physically denoted by the order in which they sit and drink. Those who speak the greetings are the men in the first position of each category. They command their group or the group immediately below them. Thus, the judge orders the fourth regidor to get liquor, and the first policeman orders the police from the rural colonia to get liquor. By these behavioral indices one can see the ordering and grouping by age, skill in praying, and territorial identification within the segments of the civil-religious hierarchy. These principles apply, however,

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

only to ordering between segments; because of the uneven civil careers of the incumbents, a man in the lower ranks within a segment may be older than another in the same rank because he started his career later.

A second significant feature of the inauguration behavior is the sacred quality of the acts, indicated by the words of the pat?o?tan—"holy office," "holy cold house," "holy staff, holy wand," "holy day and holy hour." The presence of the alfereces, the observation of the new civil officials by the religious officials, the movement from the town hall to the church and back to the town hall are the behavioral links between "our holy mother church and our holy father cabildo."

The behavioral elements in the inauguration of the religious officials parallel those in the inauguration of the civil officials. As in the case of the latter, the ritual takes place in both domestic and public settings—the house of the new officials and the church. In both inaugurations, the same feature of "raising" (rounding up for gatherings) the officials occurs: those of lower rank gather in the houses of successively higher officials, finally entering the house of the highest official. In each setting, the same ritual acts are performed—the formal greeting, the serving of coffee and bread followed by bean tamales, the request for permission to drink, and the serving of the "gift" of liquor. In the household setting for both civil and religious officials the same role performers—nakawanehetik, b'alnialetik and šk'oltawanetik—lend their support.

In the religious hierarchy the symbolic "tools" of office of the mayordomos are candles while those in the civil hierarchy are canes. In the case of the inauguration of the religious officials, the inventory involves counting the money collected for each saint rather than accounting for the possessions owned by the town. An inventory of the saints' clothing is not made as in other towns, possibly because the lay sisters living in the town maintain this stock of equipment.

The formalized speech of the pat?o?tan is an important social tool in both public and private ceremonials. Characteristic of the speech are the elaboration of simile and metaphor (*me?ba?al, wokol:* poverty and trouble in reference to one's house; *lumiltik kal'aletik:* clay and mud in reference to bodies; *snuk shoy:* his joined one, his companion in reference to one's wife; *sapil yok' sapil sk'aab k'a santuetik k'a peroltik:* the washings

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

The principle of balancing posts according to residence in the dual division is maintained in the traditional civil posts but fails to be effective again in the case of the president. Increasing population in the upper division meant that the expensive post of alférez had to be filled primarily from the side with the highest population. This unbalancing of the sharing of these burdensome posts eventually led to revolt and the post was abolished. Since it was the key post in learning prayers, its loss may mean the end of the traditional rituals in the home.

The hierarchy fails to provide sufficient prestige or power to motivate people voluntarily to undertake some posts. The most vulnerable post was that of alférez. In fulfilling obligations to the saints, alfereces used to spend over 3,000 pesos, twice the normal income of a man in one year. They were assisted by members of their immediate household either in loans or in the sale of pottery to help pay for the house fiestas. The show of wealth at these fiestas, when up to one hundred guests were fed, excited the envy of neighbors, often among the invited guests. It was felt that this provoked witchcraft, and every former alférez I knew maintained that he suffered some catastrophe following his year in office. In the last few years before its demise in 1966 the post was accepted only under duress, and all those who had been nominated at first chose to go to jail. The reason that it survived as long as it did was the insistence of those officials who served in this post that it was essentail to maintaining good fiestas. The resolution of the contradictions by abolishing the post contrast with that of Zinacantan, where men sought the prestige-conferring posts that involved large expenditures of money as a validation of wealth (Cancian 1965).

Another contradition which minimizes the motivation to undertake the traditional posts is that the highest post in the ladder, that of principal, is one associated with embarrassment and shame rather than prestige. Shorn of his roles in decision-making and in guarding public funds, the principal is reduced to holding the plate in which donations for the major fiestas are placed. The ceremonial role of the principales will probably survive, however, since the old men of the community who have retired from active work in the fields enjoy the drinking sessions in the cabildo sufficiently to compensate for the shame associated with the role.

The internal structural contradictions have to be considered in the con-

7t Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

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text of strong sentiments supporting an independent civil authority. The adaptations which have been made within the existing structure are a tribute to the strength of the sentiments associating survival of tradition with office-holding in the civil-religious hierarchy. Chapter 9 will deal with the capacity of the structure to absorb change.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

fereces to the cabildo, back to the house of the former alférez, and finally to the church, the old alférez was divested of his post and the new alférez took it on. The theme of continuity and change were exemplified by the rotation of this office just as in the case of the other ceremonial offices. The dialectic of role identification could be seen in the final act of relinquishing the role: the old alférez wept at the altar as he thanked the gods for permitting him to carry through the task. In serving in this office, it was said that the alférez "learns some understanding and speaks with understanding." He became eligible to be nakawane in the household celebrations of others; he learned the commitments to office, the fiesta needs in terms of liquor, wood, and money for food. This office, more than any other, was a rite de passage for acquiring the skills and becoming eligible for higher ceremonial office in the household, church, and cabildo settings. Those who had served in office became aware of its significance, and, despite the resistance and finally outright refusal of young men to accept the post, they were convinced of its importance in the comunal life.

An attenuated version of the post of alférez was retained in the barrio of Madronal for the fiesta of San Antonio. Those who had passed in the office in the center referred slightingly to the post in the barrio, pointing out that the alfereces there did not spend as much money, that their clothing was not as elaborate, their pat?o?tan shorter, and the meal given at the house less adequate since they did not kill a bull and then did not have as many nakewanchetik. All these components combined to give the office the prestige it still possessed in the eyes of the villagers. The value of the office was clearly measured in the costs involved; the very factor (money) which made it hard to get recruits gave luster to the post. Scaling down the costs in an attempt to make the post more attractive to those nominated, would probably have diminished its significance and led to a quicker demise.

Other Fiestas

The acts described for the inauguration of the alfereces are carried out for each of the major fiestas: those in honor of Sacramento, Virgin Lucía, San Pedro the Martyr, and San Francisco. The only exceptional acts occur

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

Chapter 9

The Competition for Power

829 Changes in the organization of the civil and religious hierarchies since the
178 constitution of 1927 can be traced in a series of events remembered by
177 members of the community. Their selection of significant events and the interpretation they make of them give the best clues to their response to change. In the remembrance of things past people structure their world and project expectations for the future. Behavior in these events lacks the controls operating in the formal rituals of the officials—age-graded authority, hierarchy, and a code of behavior which conceals the open show of power. The strategies employed in these organizational changes reveal other rules or transformation of the old rules characterizing social interaction.

554 The structure of roles in the civil and religious hierarchies has remained
621 intact. What has changed are the bases for according prestige and author-
794 ity and allocating roles. The pivotal positions in which change is occurring
578 are the mediating roles between local and national power structures, spe-
177 cifically those of president and secretary in the civil authority and of fiscal
178 and priest in the religious authority.

[212] The contest for power and "control of the town" has centered in five
[191] blocks of competition: (1) the opposition of new young leaders with skills
[756] in speaking Spanish, literacy, and knowledge of the idiom of behavior in the national culture to the established succession of an age-dominated authority system; (2) the challenge by the civil authority to the control of the curers who rely on power derived from possession of an animal spirit; (3) the struggle for political power among factions based on new economic enterprises; (4) the contest among local caciques for domination; and (5) the conflict among religious functionaries. The series of events in which these contests have crystallized and brought about a reorganization

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

of political relations is summarized for each of these conflict areas. Most of the events recorded below are transcriptions of informants' statements given in Tzeltal. I have chosen this method to show how the people interpret incidents and how this leads to cognitive restructuring.

The Conflict among Civil Officials

In the period of consolidation since the revolution, the crucial issue in determining the allocation of power among local civil authorities has been that of incorporating men who have special abilities to deal with external authority without upsetting an age-ranked system. Prior to the 1950s these skills were rare—in 1920 only four young men could sign their names and read. The civil careers of two men, Ceferino, a native of the town, and Augustín, a revistido Indian from Huistán, illustrate the different courses taken by this new leadership in the post-revolutionary period of the 1930s. Ceferino was included in the given structure of power while Augustín used his skills in dealing with Ladinos to gain personal power. Ceferino was one of the first four men of the town to learn to read and write. The civil authorities recognized his potential usefulness in the town hall, and succeeded in incorporating him in an honorific but powerless position as scribe. He described his introduction into local government:

After I got out of school, the town saw that I knew how to write. Formerly there was no one who knew how to write. In the town hall the judges and president needed someone to write down the contributions and the payment for the government agents. Therefore, when the civil authority changed in the new year, they talked to my mother. As was the custom then, four regidores came to "raise" me, bringing a bottle of trago as a gift for my mother. She did not drink it alone. Together with the regidores we finished the trago. After finishing the trago, the first regidor began to speak to my mother in the pat?o?tan, saying, "I am going to bring one of your children, one of your offspring to the place where we look and where we see [reference to town hall]. We ask this favor because he knows how to write. Therefore the judges and the president ordered me to come and raise him and take out his soil, his mud, for this duty for this obligation.

7t Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

ship role in the new political setting. As a result, it was the marginal Indians, outsiders who had come as did Augustín to work as *baldíos* (laborers) on the finca near the town, that were the drivng force behind the demand for land. This was the basis for the new leadership in the early days of land reform. The ejido program, conceived of by Cárdenas as a basis for political development of the campesinos, (Brandenburg 1964) gave these marginal Indians the opportunity to rise to positions of influence in local government. The reluctance of the townspeople to take action against Augustín derived in part from fear, since he reputedly backed his use of force with witchcraft—the imported kind of witchcraft in which poisons are used instead of spiritual force.

Ceferino, the man who finally deposed Augustín, was a member of the traditional community, but because he had been impoverished by burying four members of his family in the typhoid epidemic of 1928, he had been forced to work in the fincas. There he had learned Spanish and some of the ways of the dominant society. His leadership potential had developed in the role of *caporal*, or gang leader of the pickers in the coffee finca, and he had been a leader in the trek of recruited laborers down to the fincas in Soconusco. Under the old authority structure, in which all officials including the president were recruited through the hierarchy, he would never have reached a prestigious position. But in this crisis, he was the only man willing to confront the incumbent and take over the operation of civil affairs.

Ceferino did not take advantage of the situation to emerge as a cacique himself. As he explained in his narrative, "The pueblo was united. We did not have fear. We were in accord with the principles." The way in which he had been introduced into the cabildo as scribe had successfully neutralized his own ambitions to attain power, if he had any. He accepted the ideal of a united pueblo, recognizing the authority of the principales.

The increasing scope and frequency of relationships between the nation and the locality since the revolution has emphasized the roles of president and síndico at the expense of the authority and control exercised by the principales. The ceremonial significance of the principales in rituals is retained as a symbol of continuity in the change of officials, but their func-

7t Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

793 794 [578] *hundred and fifty pesos for a dress. The padre said I couldn't buy it there. He told me to send for one in Mexico that cost five hundred and fifty pesos. He wanted to make the profit.*

The fiscal. As an intermediary between the traditional religious officials and the priest, the fiscal is the target for both sides of the religious controversy. The priest selects the fiscal, but his retention of the post depends on his being accepted by the mayordomos. The tendency in the past [212] [191] fifteen years since a regular priest has been assigned to the community is to choose a man who speaks Spanish and can read and write, but who can 794 be dominated by the priest. The following statement by a man who served in this post in 1929 defines the functions of the fiscal as the Indians see them:

When I served as fiscal, I knew how to sell [*the Indians use the verb* to sell *in reference to any propaganda—whether commercial, political, or religious*] *the catechism. After the prayer, I cleaned the patio. I held the key to the church. I saw* [*in the sense of watch over*] *all the mayordomos. I bought the candles and incense for the saints. At midday the mayordomos and I left the church and went home. There was no padre living here then, and the padre from San Cristóbal came only on the days of San Francisco, Virgin Santa Lucía, San Pedro the Martyr, and Santiago. Each Sunday, the ten mayordomos and I entered the church and prayed in the true language.*

[782] [191] Prayers are now given in Spanish by the fiscal and the prayer-reciters under the guidance of the lay sisters, who remain most of the time in the convento. The fiscal, as a consequence, is no longer selected on the basis of [554] his ability to recite the pat?o?tan. Since one of the main tasks of the fiscal is to take care of the church, several recent incumbents have been jeered as being like women, cleaning house and responding to the bidding of the priests. Some have suggested that one was a homosexual. They blame the fiscales for letting control over the domain of the church fall into the hands of the priest.

[782] A man who had filled the post himself, described the careers of several former fiscales:

7t Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

write beliefs that give coherence to these roles. Whether these events continue to be scheduled, and in the process of being presented "prove" the postulates upon which structural relationships are based, depends upon acceptance of the belief system.

A fundamental understanding governing behavior in Tzo?ontahal is that people ought to do as the ancestors did. Both "knowing" and "remembering" are expressed by the same verb, *ya sna,* while "learning" and "memorizing" are expressed by the verb *ya snop*. The behavioral corollary of this association between knowing and remembering is that one should accept the word of the ancestors as a guide to behavior. The importance of obeying one's elders as the intermediaries in the transfer of ways of behaving from one generation to another is stressed in child training and is restated in the prayers uttered at ritual performances enacting the ways of the ancestors.

In this chapter I shall consider the integration of behavior based on roles, personality, codes of morality and etiquette, and the ideological and behavorial changes which are disturbing this system.

The Role System

Coherence of the role system in Tzo?ontahal depends upon (1) similar premises for role recruitment and continuity in transition from one role to another; (2) alternation in office and linkage of separate domains by special offices; and (3) standardized etiquette of role interaction. Uniform standards of evaluation of performance provide a sanctioning system ensuring social integration.

Recruitment and transition. Relative and chronological age combined with consideration of sex are the fundamental principles for assigning role categories. The age principle categorizes the entire town in role pairs of respect and deference. Sex differentiation is not made in children until after infancy. An infant of either sex is called *?unin,* also a term for the new moon, until the age of eight months. The sex of parent rather than that of the child is designated: a woman calls her offspring *?alal* whether boy or girl, and a man calls his offspring *nič'an*. Sex distinction is

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

made in speaking of toddlers: boys are called *ḥtatil* and girls *ḥantxil*. After five years of age, a boy is referred to as *č'in ḥerem*, "little boy" and a girl as *č'in ʔačil*, "little girl." The term for younger sibling, *ḥihtx'in*, which is extended to all of the people younger than oneself on one's own side of the dual division, is not sex marked, but the terms for all people older than oneself are. Sexual segregation begins at the age of five in sleeping arrangements as well as in public gatherings, when little boys stand with their fathers. The modifier "č'in" is dropped after the age of nine, and the terms "kerem" and "ačil" are used until marriage. At the age of fifteen, a girl is referred to as *ʔantx wiltal*, "just arriving at womanhood," and when she is married she is classified as an *ʔantx*, or woman. A boy is referred to as a kerem until he is married, when he is called *ač' winiḥ* or "new man." A woman with children is referred to as *meʔelil*, and is a full-fledged member of her sex, the *meʔil*. A man's reference term does not change with paternity. When a young unmarried man dies, people say with sorrow that it was a pity "he did not try out life," and that "he did not try out a woman."

In her youth a woman's role is tied to the reproductive cycle, but after menopause she is released from the restrictions of childbearing women. She need not appear as modest in public, and can drink and dance at fiestas. A noticeable personality change can be seen as women move out of the chrysalis of their reproductive cycle. Some older women begin to take a keen interest in sex, and widows in particular may have sexual relations with young unmarried men. It is after menopause that a woman takes her first role in ceremonials as a woman speaker.

In the man's life cycle, leadership roles are related to age. Paternal roles are the prototype for both familial and public authority positions. Thus the term for father, *tat* is the stem for the term for leader, *statal*.

In the relationship between the sexes, women are considered to be under the control of a male protector, either their father or husband. However, there is a kind of equality between the sexes which is not found in Ladino society. Usually there is only a small age difference between husband and wife, even in second marriages, and parents resist giving a young unmarried girl to an older previously married man. Mutual respect is stressed in the advice given by elders at marriage. There is no double standard for ex-

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tseltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

621 593 581 794 Familial role requirements must be fulfilled in order for public roles to be undertaken. A man must be married in order to enter into even the lowest posts in the civil and religious hierarchies.

794 556 434 554 Only in the case of the alfereces has wealth ever been a criterion for recruitment. These four officials had to be able to spend 3,000 pesos during their year in office. The heavy expenditures failed to give prestige to the official, and the display of wealth excited envy rather than respect. The result was that people called upon to accept the post had to be imprisoned before they would accept.

554 756 Recruitment to roles in almost all institutional contexts is based on innate qualities; special skills and knowledge are attributes acquired in office or other role positions rather than requirements for undertaking roles. Curers are recruited because they are recognized as having an animal spirit; they learn whatever skills are required after they have been initiated into the profession. The curers' special position in the society rests more on esoteric powers than on esoteric knowledge. Everyone in the community [218] knows the herbs and medicines which are prescribed, and most men can give as comprehensive a taxonomy of illnesses as any practicing curer.

868 241 [857] [883] Economic roles, though largely undifferentiated for each sex, are consciously learned and transmitted. Boys accompany their fathers or elder brothers to the field at about the age of eight and continue working with them until they reach independence. Observation of behavior alone would seem to indicate an unconscious absorption of the role of agricultural worker, but informants recount episodes in which training in field work was explicitly transmitted by their fathers or brothers, and formal approval of their ability to do the tasks announced to their mothers. Parents express fear that school attendance not only interferes with working in the milpa, [871] but that it will cause the child to forget what he has learned in the field. Regardless of what other tasks a man performs, he thinks of himself as a farmer.

868 323 Becoming a potter requires an even more explicit training procedure. The fine linguistic segmentation of each act and movement in the schedule of pottery-making is a clue to the explicit transmission of tasks by the

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

mother to her daughter. Informants are able to recount the succession of learning of the tasks, the relative difficulty of each task, and the mistakes they made and how their mother corrected them. Being a potter in Tzo'ontahal is as much a part of being a woman as the role of agriculturalist is of being a man.

Special tasks become crystallized as roles only when few people perform them. Jobs such as caponizing, butchering, net and rope weaving, and wood cutting which are done by almost every man do not have role terms. Bonesetting and curing of certain "good" illnesses, such as swelling caused by embarrassment, are semispecialized activities performed by a few women who have "cold" hands. Midwifery is a fully specialized role performed by two women who are referred to as "the grandmothers of the newborn child."

A new occupational role has been created with the purchase of a truck by Indians of the community. There are now two Indian truck drivers. Recruitment of these particular young men was a result of their fathers' importance in the truck-owning cooperatives, and their skill was acquired in apprenticeship with a Ladino truck driver hired when the truck was first in operation. Both of them are acculturated in clothing and speech. Since they have acquired skills in dealing with the Ladino world, they often act as intermediaries for Indians of the town in their negotiations in the market or the courts of the departmental capital.

The continuity in occupational adjustment from early childhood to adulthood contrasts with the discontinuities in assuming roles in the life cycle. Girls are not advised about menstruation until they see the first signs of it; they describe their reaction to it as one of fear and surprise. Often they have been pregnant several months before they are aware of the condition or its cause, and they have no preparation for the experience of childbirth before it is upon them. Boys are not considered men until they are married, but in order to arrive at this status, they must enter into the "fight to get a wife," as the betrothal is often called.

Since recruitment to roles in almost all institutional contexts is based on qualities of the person rather than acquired skills, failure to recognize the prerequisite conditions of age and experience undermines the validity of

7t Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

554 the status. Community integration is achieved at the expense of limiting the range of roles through restricted recruitment and validating mechanisms.

621 794 [182] *Alternation and linkage in office-holding.* The principle of alternation between civil and religious posts serves to integrate these officers in a single functioning system and prevents the development of segmented groups. The alternation of offices between sides of the dual divisions helps to integrate the village by pairing or alternating them in the same office. Some roles served as links between the institutional domaines. Principales are the primary symbolic leaders of both hierarchies since they are chosen from among men who have completed service in both hierarchies. The alfereces formerly symbolized the unity of the civil and religious branches in the transfer of banners from the cabildo to the church and in other ceremonial duties.

621 624 794 [692] [184] The regidores and judges have remained identified with the civil authority in Tzo'ontahal, although in other towns in the area they have become almost exclusively identified with the religious hierarchy (Cancian 1965). The regidores were formerly involved in religious affairs during the household celebration for the installation of the new alférez. At this time they were called personaetik from the Spanish term persona, or personage.

731 756 178 62 Events requiring community action reveal some of the links which unite officials who play roles in different institutional settings. On the occasion of an epidemic, curers are called before the civil authority to "give an account" of who is causing the witchcraft. Formerly the curers were linked to the civil hierarchy by a system of social control in which the principales, as elders, reviewed their actions in guarding the safety and health of the community. This system of checks and balance has been broken by the shift in power from the principales to the president.

794 621 182 The nakawanehetik provide the links between the household and the civil and religious hierarchies. They transmit the knowledge of ritual prayer and acts and officiate at the inauguration of officials. They serve as stage directors in maintaining the traditional household rituals and in ensuring continuity in public ceremonials.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

Etiquette of role interaction. The complex system of stereotyped behavior contained in codes of etiquette depends upon role relations. The primary rule of etiquette is to greet people appropriately. In street greetings, one demonstrates that one knows how to "take into account," or show respect to, elders and minors. To elders of the first ascending generation or above, one says, "Good morning, father (or mother)." Those of one's own generation are greeted as elder brother or sister, or younger brother or sister, depending on their relative age. If the encounter is with a compadre, the terms kumpare or kumare take precedence over any other relation. A respected curer is addressed as *tatinal*. Officials are greeted by their titles, preceded by *mam* if they are older. Such greetings are restricted to people who live in the same division of the village. When one enters the other division, it is necessary to greet only compadres or relatives who have passed over after marriage. When younger persons approach elders of prestige, they remove their hats and incline their heads to be touched.

Service of food and drink is strictly ordered by age and sex. At mealtime, small children are fed separately, before or after their elders depending on the child's needs. When they reach the age of reason, about twelve, they are expected to await their turn. The father is served first, followed by his sons in order of age. The mother eats later with the girls.

The etiquette of ceremonial behavior is an extension and elaboration of the everyday forms. Service and greetings are made in order of age and rank, a procedure simplified by the fact that seating arrangements are made in the same order. In house ceremonials, the eldest man sits facing inward, to the right of the door. The rest of the company sits in clockwise order from eldest to youngest on benches lining the porch. Within the house, the seating of women by age begins with the eldest woman sitting at the center post and others sitting in clockwise order.

Preferred modes of behavior in all settings for all roles are "slowness and softness, expressed by a single term, *k'unk'untik*. Deference and respect—"hearing and feeling," *ʃ?awai*—should be shown in all encounters, marked by behavior such as downcast eyes, shawl held over the mouth, avoidance of direct eye contact, as well as verbal signs of agreement and

7t Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

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been made, there is no recourse but to kill the man since he may retaliate by killing his accuser (this occurred in two of the cases noted in Table 29).

593 606 578 [584] [425]

Conflict between generations in the role sets father/son and father/son-in-law stems from delay in carrying out role responsibilities. Fathers are expected to provide the money for the costs of betrothal, and to give their children shares of the patrimony including both land and livestock. The scheduling of when this should occur is often a matter of dispute, resulting in at least two cases of homicide in the period analyzed.

152 156 178 556 754 [474] [685]

New economic enterprises have exacerbated the tensions rising from envy. Foster (1965) has suggested that envy stems from the notion of the "limited good," requiring the strategy of a "zero sum game" (Bennet 1966). The fact that the new wealth is evidence of new opportunities, not a subtraction from a given resource supply, has not entered the cognitive awareness of the people. The prospering leaders of these enterprises feel themselves to be particularly vulnerable to the envy of others and thus to the charge of witchcraft. There have been several open attacks on new leaders accused as witches; the leader of the truck cooperative, for example, was murdered in 1966. Six men have been killed as cattle thieves in the past ten years.

177 178 554 621 [556] [794] [754]

The economic roles created with the introduction of new enterprises have not been integrated in the traditional pattern of recruitment and control. In the association of cattle breeders, leadership tends to be based on the size of the herd; in the case of the truck cooperative, amount of capital invested and entrepreneurial skills have determined the leadership of the enterprise, while driving skill and ability to get along in the Ladino world has been the basis for choice of drivers. Such achievement principles as the basis for recruitment into these envied positions are not accepted in the same way that age and passage through a hierarchy of posts validated higher positions in the old hierarchies. The conspicuous expenditure of wealth in the more expensive posts in the religious hierarchy has also failed to lessen hostility aroused by the increasing disparity in wealth, and in fact those who have served as alférez have been even more subject to witchcraft aroused by envy.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

"gift of the gods," liquor, to the party whose interests have been slighted. This is done in the case of a suitor who is asking for a woman of the other side of the dual division; he gives the bachelors of that side a garrafón of liquor in compensation for the loss of a potential mate. Liquor has become a substitute for the sacrifice of a child by a man being initiated into the curing profession. Informal offerings of liquor may be made between neighbors or relatives who have been fighting with each other. Liquor is a kind of universal social solvent in disputes, and figures importantly in court cases which are always terminated in a drinking session.

Another technique is simply a payment in money to compensate for damages. In some homicide cases, the payment of "blood money" has compensated the family of the victim to avoid legal action. This is never done, however, if the community agrees that the victim was a witch. Payment of fines in court is another such form of compensation. These payments or offerings minimize the bloodshed or personal involvement in conflictual relations. Payment by the man judged guilty will ensure his reincorporation into his customary place in the community without stigma.

While it is impossible to elicit from informants a theory of roles, it is possible to formulate the principles underlying roles. These are deduced from behavioral observations and from evaluations made of the performances of others. They can be summarized in the following propositions:

1. There is a clear separation between role and role-bearer. This is seen most clearly in the passage through civil and religious offices with a minimum of "halo" effect. It is also found in the situation of household officials whose authority in directing affairs within a household ceases when the ceremony in which they officiate is over. The separation ensures flexibility in a closed social system, enabling people to shift from one role to another. It also permits continuity in a system which requires an almost complete turnover of personnel each year.

2. Function performed is separate from role in which it is performed. This applies even in those roles which are designated on the basis of the most important function required of the performer, for example woman speaker, liquor measurer, and basket carrier. All of

71 Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

these role-bearers have other functions to perform, but the term specifies the most significant of these. Other people may unofficially perform these acts but only the officially appointed person has the other prerequisites for and duties of the role.

3. Recruitment into roles depends on age and sex qualifications. Validation of the role emphasizes, in addition to these ascribed characteristics, innate capacity rather than acquired ability. For example, the curers who are respected are assumed to have been born with an animal spirit, while those who are believed to have acquired it are suspected of being witches. Similarly, high civil officials are expected to be innately clever, not just trained for office.

4. Evaluation of performance emphasizes the state of the heart and qualifies judgments of the person according to characteristics of the mind and of the soul. The heart governs emotions such as contentment or inner turmoil and determines the moral relations a person has with others. The mind enables a man to deal effectively in his instrumental activities so that he can speak and work well. Possession of a second soul means that one is clever and capable, but it is the third soul which gives power over the life and death of others. The exchange of evaluations about others is a crucial area of concern in the tense atmosphere dominated by fear of whichcraft. In the belief that their very survival depends upon knowledge of the intent of others before it is expressed in witchcraft, the people constantly consult with relatives, compadres, neighbors, or the curers, in order to anticipate changes in their relations with others.

5. Sanctions against behavior that fails to meet role expectations depend on the seriousness of the crime rather than on the attitude of the criminal. This means that compensation relieves the wrong-doer of any guilt burden. Most compensation, even for homicide, can be translated into cash payment.

6. Ceremonial behavior in everyday interaction as well as in ritual serves to limit the personal involvement in the encounter and to emphasize the role category. This is particularly emphasized in the initial stage of the encounter. Liquor and cigarettes introduce a more informal behavior in which the etiquette of reserve can be relaxed.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

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Unorthodox behavior after drinking is less subject to censure than that indulged in without this stimulus.

The social changes affecting the community have not changed the categories of roles. What has happened is a shift in the power and authority associated with civil roles: the president's role for example has assumed importance over that of the principales. A full account of the changes in the role system requires a discussion of the settings in which they are enacted, the timing which gives them coherence, and the beliefs which give them meaning. Summary statements on role coordination will be given in the final chapter.

Chapter 11

Ordering Behavior by Places

121 554 People act out roles in a space and time matrix that provides the cues for appropriate behavior. Place is a means of patterning three structural dimensions of role: sex, age, and relative prestige. In societies characterized by multiplex relationships, Gluckman (1962:35-36n.) has emphasized the importance of the setting in establishing what role the individual is playing. One's selection of a particular role from the many possible relationships tying people together is supported by observation of official terms of address and reference in these settings. In Tzo?ontahal, the use of place as 554 a designation of role is even more specific since each person occupying a role is given a special place within the setting.

554 342 368 517 The social domains, or fields of activity where major systems of roles are defined in Tzo?ontahal, include the house, the cabildo, the church, and the school. Segmentary role relations are limited to the clinic, the corn-grinding mill, and the store. The house has retained its importance as a ceremonial locus not only for life crisis rituals but also for initiating new officials into the civil and religious hierarchies. The institutional buildings [361] grouped around the plaza—the church, the cabildo, the schoolhouse, the clinic, the mill, and the cooperative store—are the meeting ground for outside representatives of national or supra-local agents and townspeople. These provide the settings in which behavioral adjustments to internal changes and to external standards can be viewed.

The Concept of Space

772 361 Relevant social space is conceived of as a square. The square shape of houses, of the offering hole for the house sacrifice, of the corn field, and of the planting pattern for corn conforms to a notion of the world as a

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

meal for the house is buried in the inauguration ceremony (Chapter 1) and the door. Left and right are orientation points viewed from inside facing the door. Women of the house sit on mats near the center post. Female visitors occupy the mats to the left of the post and male visitors sit on benches lining the right wall and the interior wall. If it is a large ceremony for the ritual of inauguration or a celebration by the captain of a fiesta, only women enter the house, and the men sit on borrowed benches lining the walls of the porch.

Relative age is indicated by position in the seating arrangement. For women the seat of honor, occupied by the oldest woman present, is at the center post; other women of the household sit on a straw mat or board in order of descending age clockwise around the room. This order is modified by the presence of the grandmother who, if not a woman speaker, retires to the left (facing door from inside) corner. Visiting women sit to the right of the center post with the oldest immediately next to the post and those decreasing in age and stature to her right. For men, the seat on the bench nearest the door to the interior is called the "head of the bench"; this is the seat of the leading nakawane. The rest of the nakawanehetik sit along this bench in order of age. On the bench facing them sits the house owner, with his brothers and other visitors to his right in an age-ranked order. The b'alnialetik sit on the right wall bench.

Since prestigeful roles are usually a concomitant of age, especially in the house ceremonies, there is seldom conflict between age and role status. When conflict does occur, it is only seen at the top level; thus, the grandmother if not active because of age, retires to the corner while the woman speaker, who must order the women in the kitchen and receive visiting dignitaries, takes over this position. I have seen the leader of the č'om take precedence over the leader waiter who was older, because of the important role of the former.

When the family is carrying out a ritual, it is felt that the house should never be left vacant. The role of the "waiters" (maliwanehetik) is specifically that of remaining in the house while others of the celebrants are involved in ritual acts outside of the house. When the members of the betrothal party go to the girl's house, for example, the waiters are left behind; or when the patient leaves with the curer and some of the curing

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

342 party to go to the spring, at least one relative remains in the house to
796 greet the soul if it should precede the curing party.
[584]
[755] Behavior in household rituals is described in Chapters 1, 5, and 8.
[128]

The Cabildo

344 The cabildo, called by the people of the town the "cold house,"[1] was
[196] built following the revolution of 1915, when Piñeda's revolutionary soldiers
[175] destroyed the original colonial structure. The tiles of the roof were confiscated from a finca which the Indians invaded in 1941 in an unsuccessful attempt to gain additional lands. When they were unable to maintain their hold on the land, they burned the owner's house and took the tiles to the town center where they remain as a symbol of their defiant action. They refer to this event with pride. The cabildo houses the jail, equipped with a barred wooden door, in one of its wings, and the Ejido Commission office in the other.

344 Within the cabildo, each official has his established place. The cabildo is
352 furnished with a table at which the president and síndico sit on wooden
621 chairs made in the Indian town of Chamula. Four benches lining the
554 walls on either side of the entry provide seating for the civil officials. On
576 the right side (looking out at the plaza) sit the judges in order of rank;
[693] the regidores, in similar sequence follow them. The principales, and formerly the alfereces, sit on the left side when they appear for ceremonial occasions. This spatial allocation establishes drinking and greeting order as well. Visitors can go directly from one to another in the formal greeting of a handclasp and murmured "good morning, father," or "good afternoon, father," without violating age-respect patterns.

344 During court cases, the claimant and his supporters sit on the bench to
352 the left of the door; on other occasions the bench is occupied by visitors or
695 petitioners. The police sit on one of the two benches lining the outside
[625] wall, or retire to the kitchen, a wooden slat lean-to on the left wing of the

[171] 1. Bunzel (1952) notes that in prayers, the cabildo in Chichicastenango is referred to as "the cold house, the icy house." Although the Quiché term is not given in her manuscript, one can see a similarity in the rhyming couplets and metaphorical allusions in the prayers of the towns.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

building. When they leave the cabildo, they take their staffs as a mark of office.

The central room serves as a courthouse, a place for legislating and administering town affairs, for performing marriages, recording births and deaths, and for inaugurating new officials. Everyone who goes to the courthouse has a specific purpose for being there. Regular attendance means that an established seat and place in the order of greeting and drinking is accorded—even to the anthropologist.

Each day the civil officials assemble at the town hall about eight in the morning and take their accustomed places. Sitting is an official act. In listing the duties of the president, for example, "sitting at the table" was given first in order of importance of his functions by two informants, and in the case of the judges, "sitting at the bench" was listed first.

The president opens official mail and dictates responses to the secretary, now an Indian of the village, who pecks out the letters on an ancient portable typewriter. Since typing is a new skill for him, he makes many errors, and his retrials are accepted with patience and sometimes joking by the president and judges. When the president has an order for the police, it is transmitted to the regidor, who in turn passes it on to the police. The police always carry out their orders in pairs. Interruptions occur as petitioners enter. Men come in to announce the birth of a child and receive the name of the saint's day from the president, who consults the calendar; creditors arrive to request that a debtor be jailed for nonpayment of a loan or interest. When official visitors arrive from the I.N.I. or from the Ejido Commission, the president usually rises and stands at attention, agreeing with everything said. If it is an affair of some importance, the discussion may be continued in the schoolhouse, since the teacher has gained political importance in the town. The Indians rarely oppose departmental or federal officials directly; when they are unwilling to comply with an order, they stall for time, figuring that in the long run time is with them.

When the cabildo serves as a courtroom, it provides a setting for airing not only the grievance which precipitated the court action, but also the entire spectrum of personal relations involved. More women than men resort to court, since the drinking customs for men mean that they are more often the violators of norms. Behavior in the courtroom is controlled by a

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

den on the teacher already laboring with the barrier in communication. Despite these difficulties, the children manage to learn the basics of reading, writing, arithmetic, and Spanish in four years of schooling. The teachers are devoted and spend at least seven hours in the classroom each day.

During the recess period the children play individual competitive games except when organized games are introduced by one of the teachers. There is a tendency toward ganging up on weaker individuals in fights, that occur, but I have never seen signs of marked brutality. Since the Ladino children are a small minority in the school (there are no more than a half a dozen among the three hundred and twenty-four students) the Indian children do not face the discrimination found in schools with a greater proportion of Ladinos (cf. Romney and Romney 1966).

Discipline is no longer as strict as it was in the early years of public education. The teacher allows someone who has been hit to hit the aggressor but does not herself intercede. Threat of punishment may be made by the teacher, but I have never seen it carried out, and it is never suggested as a solution to failure to learn.

In comparing the domestic, civil, and religious domains of activities, the following features emerge:

1. In each domain, a hierarchy of power is present. In the house, males take precedence over females, and older members over younger. In the cabildo, the power hierarchy takes the form of a rank order coordinate with age in most of the offices, while in the schoolhouse, power is polarized with all authority vested in the schoolteacher. In the church, the conflict between the priest and the cofrades (Chapter 9) has not been resolved. Within the ranks of the mayordomos, relationships between the elder and junior mayordomo establish a graded ranking system (Chapter 8).

2. Behavior in each domain is standardized. Relative rank is reflected in seating order, greeting order, and drinking order. Autonomous behavior is most marked in the domain of the church. Focused interaction is predominant in the school, where order and control are based on absorbing the attention of the child in a learning task.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

3. Categories of role-bearers sit and act together in all the domains. In the home the me?eletik, the nakawanebetik, and the b'alnialetik have established seats and act in concert. Similarly in the cabildo, four ranks of officials, the principales, judges, regidores, and police, move and act together. In the church, elder and younger mayordomos move in pairs of two.

4. Sexual segregation is present in the home, the church, and the cabildo, but is lacking in the school. This rejection of the community standard for a group situation was the basis for some parents holding their children out of school until coerced by the federal authorities backed by the local officials.

5. Attendance in all domains involves coercion as well as voluntary action. Coercion is most marked in the school, but resistance by the parents to forced attendance and mixing of the sexes is fast wearing down in this domain. In the cabildo, the defendant is required to attend the court hearing and may even be jailed if he does not pay the fines charged against him. Coercion is covert in the home; the lack of alternative housing arrangements makes residence in the household of orientation or of procreation mandatory.

6. Sacred symbols are present in all the domains. The symbols of the cabildo and of the school relate the community to the nation with the national flags and the portraits of the president. The canes of office which are assumed as each official acquires office are symbols of local authority. The universalistic symbols of the church—the saints images, portraits, and banners—are acquired from Catholic orthodoxy, but have been encapsulated with local sentiments and beliefs. Sacred symbols are treated with respect and avoidance, both in the church and the home. The "holy cross" or banners are touched only with sacred embroidered cloths binding the hands of those who carry them. Saints' images are kissed, but as a mark of respect, not intimacy. The Mexican flag, with which less awe is associated, is saluted.

Each of the domains provides a setting for the recognition and validation of authority figures in the community. Values which are communally shared or imposed from outside are formally instilled in these settings. Ex-

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970

NV9 Tzaltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

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178 tra-institutional supports are still lacking for the school, which is not yet fully incorporated into the community framework.

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554 Replication of behavior in all of the institutional domains except the school provides a measure of social integration in the community. Patterned behavior, such as the set speeches of the pat?o?tan, the formalized drinking procedure including the blessing of the drink and the serving of it in accordance with age and authority ranking of the participants, the etiquette of greeting and leave-taking, the embrace signifying ritual guardianship, occurs in the home, the town hall, and the church. These sets of stereotyped behavior, specified according to roles, simplify the movement from one institutional setting to another and contribute to continuity in role performance by the individual. The new patterns of behavior introduced in the school—desegregation of the sexes, competition in performance, grading of achievement—are not modes of behavior which have spread. However, as the skills acquired in school assume greater importance in the community, it is likely that the socializing procedures with which they were transmitted may spread to the home.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

571 805 [584] is accepted. Precipitous action on either side reveals a weakness of which the other party might take advantage, or which might even stop procedures.

Timing of activities is so specific that it can be read as an equation of social relations: People who come to the house after nightfall are either intimate members of the family, or are members of the circle of me?tiktatik invited for a special household celebration—night is the time when spirits wander, not a time for casual visiting. Arrival of the betrothal party at the [584] house of the girl's parents after ten o'clock in the morning indicates that the suit has been accepted.

571 805 554 562 Sequential timing expresses relative prestige and a sense of priority. In "raising" the officials for the official ceremonies, the lowest ranks of officials rise first to go to the house and awaken each of their companions in order of rank. The sequence in serving order has already been discussed with respect to rank and prestige. Another principle of sequence operates at a more subtle level: women go before men when there is expectation of [584] a fight since their presence evokes less hostility. This is evident in the betrothal: the me? c'om precedes the mam c'om in the initial proceedings [579] when strong resistance and hostility is anticipated. When drunken fights start during house ceremonies, women intercede with calming effect.

641 829 805 Time always is on the side of the Indians when they wish to resist national orders. Verbal agreements to pay fines imposed or to assist federal agents in the capture of criminals are frequently followed by deliberate negligence in carrying out the orders. Usually the order is forgotten or in- [647] terest wanes at a higher level. Government agencies such as the INI learned to bide their time much as the Indians did. Expecting opposition to any proposed change, they waited for the initial reaction to die down, and then proceeded as support from those who benefited overcame internal resistence.

461 464 512 805 When called upon to perform jobs that require regular appointments, the Indians respond easily to the daily scheduling. Resistance comes against scheduled requirements that involve long spans of time and interfere with communal and familial ceremonies. Work away from home is [181] undertaken only on the premise that it will be of limited duration. This control over their own time is a value which Indians will not easily yield.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970

NV9 Tsaltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

621 578 177 178 [114] [474] [182] was channeled along existing lines of competition. During my stay in the community from 1964 to 1966, most conflicts were attributed to economic competition between the two trucking cooperatives. Along with this, the waning of the position of the principales has undermined the confidence of the people in the system of checks and balances in which the principales watched over the judges, the judges watched over the curers, the curers watched over the people to see that no one brought in evil, and the ancestors watched over everyone. Curers are more and more often accused of witchcraft and are frequent victims of homicide. The sense that they are the guardians of the pueblo and the agents of the ancestors is nearly dead. They are consulted only because the people feel that, because of the evil in them, they can fight the evil caused by others.

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621 756 177 178 The shift in power from the old leaders to the new has not been accompanied by a shift in ideological allegiance. The new leaders cannot offer the security the people felt when they were living in the eyes of the ancestors. The curers remain as a powerful group because of their claims of being able to fight evil, but there is no longer a legitimate authority controlling their use of destructive forces.

561 554 177 178 A system of authority based on rule by elders is a structural correlative of a behavior pattern in which people act out the ways of the ancestors. This applies to the schematized behavior contained in rituals and in traditional productive activities. The ideology of a seniority-based prestige system persists at the explicit level at the same time that behavioral changes in contradiction to this are occurring.

626 177 178 Social control in a system of behavior based on what was done in the past depends upon the belief that people are carrying out their lives "in the eyes of the ancestors." Ritual behavior in Tzo'ontahal seems to confirm this, but in view of the waning belief in the presence of the ancestors and the loss of confidence in their agents, the curers, this behavior is a kind of social lie designed to perpetuate the old code of morality. In their everyday behavior, people no longer act on the same premises. The social lie is perpetuated because the people who enjoyed power in the old social system—the curers and the elders—do not wish to relinquish it. It will last only so long as they can find successors, and with the abolition of the recruitment through alfereces, this should not be for long.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

755 Patient's Wife: *There he was lying down for the day.*
126 Patient: *It is the first day I have stepped foot on soil.*
Patient's Wife: *It is today.*
Patient: *I have endured it for days. So I wanted to go get help from your work. He [Emilio] told me, "Go get the horse to work in the wheat." "Good, I am going to get it. Afterward I am going to leave him in the threshing shelter." When I returned in the afternoon, I could not bear walking.*
Patient's Wife: *I told him, "Better not go yet to caponize your horse."*
Patient: *We had another little horse we were thinking of caponizing this year. But now I couldn't think of it. You have heard how it is with me. Let us see what God says.*
Curer's Wife: *Yes, give another [speaking to liquor pourer who was passing out liquor] to the women.*
[273] [554] *[All the company were given drinks. Drinking order was: father of curer's wife, curer, his two sons, wife of curer, interviewer, patient, his wife, wife of curer's two sons.]*
Curer: *Do you want a little more?*
Patient: *No, it is good.*
Curer's Father-in-law: *With your permission. [Drinks his liquor.]*
Curer [to Father-in-law]: *Enter! [Meaning, "Drink the liquor."]*
[The curer began to bleed the patient. He had eight gourds which he applied three times. He took the basin into which he poured the blood out to the yard and buried it, saying, "We cannot burn it inside because it was witchcraft."]
Curer [to patient]: *Can you endure it again?*
Patient: *I can endure it.*
Patient's Wife: *Please, father.*
Curer: *It is good. You don't have to endure it again.*
[Drinking continues.]
Curer's Father-in-law *[pouring blood into a saucer]*: *Look, it is black.*
Curer's Younger Son [to elder brother]: *It is not good, elder brother. [He had noted that the last gourd did not have much blood.]*
Curer's Father-in-law [to interviewer]: *Ah, God, it is not now as it was before. There is much witchcraft.*
Patient's Wife: *Let us see what came out.*
Curer's Father-in-law: *It is black because the witchcraft is well lodged in his body.*
[Curer points to his son where to make another scratch.]
Curer's Elder Son: *Where truly?*

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887 after for advice in many different events, such as helping to
888 decide the divisions of an inheritance among brothers, giving ad-
[154] vice to a drunkard husband, etc. They also have important polit-
ical functions: they are called in by the Ayuntamiento to help
solve the difficult witchcraft cases, and they have to approve the
nominations of officers before they are presented to the community
as candidates.

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554 In selecting new officers, age, marital status, seniority
rights and previous experience are considered important. The
higher a position in the hierarchy, the more respected it is and
the more authority and responsibility it carries. While the lower
[555] positions can be filled by any man, the higher ones require certain
personal skills that not everybody possesses, so it becomes more
[624] difficult to find the right man for the job. Some men fail in
commanding the respect of their fellow citizens (because they drink,
or they fight with their neighbors, or similar breaches of behavior
for which they are not selected for cargo), or they become senile,
or die before they become pasados, so not every man arrives at the
ideal and most reputable role of Principal, which is the top role
a man can achieve at the community level.

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554 To be a principal a man has to be able to get along with
his kinsmen and neighbors, he should not be suspected of witchcraft,
he should be able to deal with outsiders to the community avoiding
conflict with them, he should be fast in judging the behavior of
others and solving problems, and his word has to be precise and
carry the necessary weight to convince others that his opinions are
sound (un hombre que "sabe hablar"). Moreover, he can more easily

621 Moreover, he can more easily [34]
624 fulfill these requisites if he had been able in his lifetime to
554 become the jural head of a large and united extended family, be-
596 cause, given the fact that he should be able to control the opinions and actions of many villagers, it is his personal power with other individuals which supports his position as principal, and not the reverse.

621 Town officials, although they are selected by the previous
[623] officers and approved by the principales, have to be ratified in their positions by all the household heads in a public meeting. The different qualifications of some men for the higher posts creates some disparity in the number of cargos held by a particular individual, but the differences are never enough to say that political power is differentially distributed. The following table and figure show the distribution of officerships by age group, in a random sample of married men in Aguacatenango, and it confirms the idea that the villagers themselves have about their access to political officership: any normal, married man with more than one child is capable of achieving, in a hierarchical order, several political posts.[1]

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[184] [1]This system is in contrast with other villages in the area. In the very large communities with paraje type settlements (a nucleated village which functions as a ceremonial and political center surrounded by dispersed hamlets) such as Tenejapa or Zinacantan, although the number of offices is tremendously increased, the population is so large that only a few men from each paraje pass the cargos, and the ideal of every man participating in the hierarchy of power is never attained. In those cases, only the richer obtain office, and the "democratic" aspects of the system are less noticeable. It could be that an egalitarian political organization can only be maintained when the population size is limited, and that a large social group with a centralized organization "needs" differential power distribution, or, rather, cannot avoid the differential distribution of political power among the population groups.

621 571 576 man bankil (respect term, "elder brother") the other would be his kiht'zin ("younger brother").

621 561 554 Older men are socially superior to younger ones. A man who has passed many cargos has more authority than one who has not served in the community government. A man with many children in a united family commands more respect than a man whose children are embarrassed of him because he is a trouble-maker. A good talker is better thought of than a boring drunkard. The same differentiation scale, although using some other criteria, also functions for women. Elder ladies have enough social status to be permitted to laugh in public while young married wives are expected to keep quiet. A woman known as a "good mother-in-law" collects the rewards of praise of other women. A wife who keeps her husband clean and well fed can visit around and be well received, while a lazy housekeeper would not be welcomed in other women's houses who fear of being judged "by the company they keep."

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554 555 156 621 571 A constellation of factors, therefore, places the individual in a very particular status position, and his personal skill can increase his prestige or destroy it. Moreover, the total performance of an individual in the totality of his roles can not only increase his general status and gain the approval of his fellow men, but would be an important factor in saving him from witchcraft accusations. A man can try to control as much labor and capital as possible in order to maximize profits from his work and minimize its consumption, as long as he does not create enemies, and insures his prestige in as many dimensions as possible: he can give advice to conflicting parties rather than

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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Aguacatenango

562 The inheritance rights of women are highly controversial.
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578 All the cases of conflict over the inheritance or rights of usufruct of land, that we know about, involved a woman in the line
[183] of transmission. But however controversial, they are an established pattern. This is shown in the following cases.

Case 1

159 Delfina is about twenty-four years old, and still single.
592 She was raised by her godmother in San Cristóbal, and her aspira-
593 tions are to become a Ladina. She has consistently refused to
562
554 marry any Indian man, and lives with her parents in a large com-
428
434 pound. She is economically self-sufficient (perhaps the only woman in the village which is in the same position), because she works for the INI as a sewing teacher, and her status in the household is quite high due to the fact that she draws a large salary and that her parents are close to senility and dependent on her. Until recently, her married brother lived in the compound with his parents. He insisted that at his parents death he should inherit everything: land, house and animals. Delfina and his father were of the opposite opinion: the house should be for Delfina, since she was supporting them and, as she expressed it: "she did not get married." Faced with the brother's insistence about his traditional rights, the father ordered him out of the household, and he and his wife left town and went to live in
[626] Amatenango. Most villagers, however, think that Delfina is in the wrong. They say that she is alzada (prideful) and loose in her relations with Ladino men (the employees of the INI that come to the village), and "perhaps a witch." (See Genealogy, Fig. 15.)

MY ELICITING PROCEDURES are described to make explicit the steps in constructing the informant's cognitive model. The first responses given by an informant are most often those which have the greatest significance within a structured system of priorities or of dominance. For example, informants in Tzo?ontahal invariably listed the officials in order of primacy. Another clue to the structuring of social relations is the omission of data in the first interview. This can mean either repression of information or lack of significance for the informant as an individual or for the society. These factors can be sorted out in subsequent interviews.

When asked, "What are all the kinds of offices in Tzo?ontahal," informants replied, "offices in the *kabiltu*, or townhall, and offices in the *č'ulna*, holy house or church. The question, "What are the kinds of officials in the townhall?" elicited the following three categories: *alkaletik*, alcaldes or judges; *rehiroletik*, regidores; and *mayoletik*, mayores or policemen. These categories are ranked relative to each other; for example, *alkaletik* is of greater prestige (*mas mamališ*, senior), *rehiroletik* next, and *mayoletik* least. Thus there are in the *alkaletik* category: *primero alkal*, first judge; *sčebal alkal*, second judge; *čeb suplente alkal*, two assistant judges. In the *rehiroletik* category there are: *primero rehirol*, first regidor; *sčebal rehirol*, second regidor; *yošebal rehirol*, third regidor; *čanebal rehirol*, fourth regidor. In the *mayoletik* category there are: *primero mayol*, first policeman; *sčebal mayol*, second policeman; *yošebal mayol*, third policeman; *sčanebal mayol*, fourth policeman; and *spoil mayol*, last policeman.

Cutting across this ranked hierarchy of officials are two geographical divisions; these align officials according to the side of the dual division in which they reside and which they represent. There is one judge from the upper division, *ahk'olnantik*, and one from the lower division, *alannantik*. The first judge is chosen in alternate years from one or the other of the two divisions, and so on for each rank of judges and regidores. There are two sets of five police, one from each side of the dual division serving in alternating weeks. The two assistant judges are chosen from the barrios Magronal and Bočibal. They never attain the first two positions. In addition to this regular ladder

[P. 213-A]

sented by an elder *tatil martoma* and a junior *niẖ'anil martoma*, and that the 15 mayordomos were further ranked in terms of the four major saints, the *mas mamaliil* or more senior, whose mayordomos are referred to as *ḳobraria*, cofradías or brotherhoods, and the remaining as mayordomos. The four *ḳobrarias* were ranked in terms of the importance and expense of the saint whom they support. The order for Tzo?ontahal is Sacramento *(Saḳramentu)*, Virgin Santa

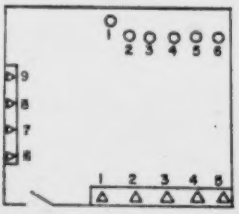

CHART 2 — EVENING, DECEMBER 31, HOUSE OF NEW JUDGE (ELICITED)

WOMEN (circles):
1 Woman speaker *(Me?il K'op)*
2 Wife of president *(Yinam Presirente)*
3-6 Wives of juniors *(Yinam Niẖ'anil)*

MEN (triangles):
1 Leading house official *(Statal Nakawane)*
2 New judge *(Alẖ' Alkal)*
3-5 Assistants, sons of judge *(Balnialetik)*
6-9 Woodgatherers *(Ak?ni?etik)*

Lucia *(Halal Me?tik Santalusia)*, San Pedro Martyr *(Tatik Martil)*, and San Francisco *(Tatik Sanpransisku)*. There was complete agreement among the three informants questioned regarding this rank order, but for rank order of the 12 remaining mayordomos in charge of the 19 lesser saints there was no agreement between informants, and even the same informant was inconsistent in different eliciting sessions.

Outside the traditional hierarchy is the *piiḳal* (in Spanish *fiscal*), who is the direct assistant of the priest and serves in an advisory capacity in charge of the church activities of the brotherhoods and mayordomos in the absence of the priest. This role was not elicited, but in my questioning about fiestas he was mentioned as performing a certain role. The incumbent in the past three years was serving as president for the third time, showing the scarcity of men with the needed literary skills. The fiscal is usually relieved of other posts while serving in office. Another set of roles external to the hierarchy are the *me?eletik* (or *resadoras*, the Spanish term for female prayermakers). These are usually widowed or single wo-

[P 214-A]

9:Nash E-5 (1964) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tzo?ontahal

men whom the lay sisters assisting the priest have organized to help carry out the Mass and other church rituals.

Another pair of officials, the *krinsipaletik* or principales, were not mentioned in the category "officials in the townhall" or in that of "officials in the church," until I questioned, "Who names the officials?" The response was, "Principales with the president." In order to arrive at the higher honorific posts of principal, one must serve five times in the civil and six times in the religious posts in the traditional hierarchy. The principales provide continuity in the transfer of authority, remaining in the townhall when the old officials depart to their homes, and passing over the staffs to the new officials (App. 1, Q. 28, 31). It is a position without power in the day-to-day administration of affairs. Although the incumbents occupy prestigeful positions and carry out ceremonial acts, many men avoid the office because of the loss of status in carrying out one of their most important acts, the collection of contributions for the major fiestas. The two principales must hold the plate into which the money is turned over by the police, and this causes "embarrassment." Formerly they were also bankers, holding the money until it was spent. This responsibility gave prestige to the act of receiving the money, now redefined as a sort of begging operation.

A ceremonial link between the civil and religious wings is the group of officers known as the *alperesetik*, alfereces. They are associated with the four major saints, who are also represented by the *kobrarias* of Sacramento, Santa Lucia, San Pedro Martyr, and San Francisco. Their rank order is determined not by the importance of the saint but by the order of entry into office. These are named: *tat pasaro*, the past "father"; *šil pasaro*, remains past; *sčebal pasaro*, second past; and *?at' alperes*, new alferez. They sit, move, and are served in this order wherever they appear. Although tied to a *k'ultat*, spirit father or saint, they function in the townhall in bearing the banners there from the church for civil affairs (App. 1, Q. 27), and they provide the post which is crucial for learning the set speeches useful in all formal occasions, called the *pat?ot'an*, 'behind the heart.' Because of the crucial nature of this speechmaking, no man can progress into the post of first or second regidor without having passed through that of alferez. This post is the most difficult to fill because of the high outlay (3000 pesos in one year of average expenditures, about half the

[P. 214-B]

CHANGE OF OFFICIALS

average annual earnings of a man in this town); failure to accept the post when it is offered brings a jail sentence. On the following day, during a drinking session in the townhall with the assembled civil officials, the reluctant nominee usually accepts.

The civil career of an individual would be one in which he passed (*sk'as*, which I gloss as 'pass'; it is the same verb as Spanish *pasar*) first as police, then as third or fourth regidor. If he has passed as alferez, he will enter as first or second regidor at this stage, and then go on to second judge and finally become first judge. If not, he will stop as third or fourth regidor. After reaching the peak of his career as first judge, he may return to the police group as *martomorey*. Present leaders of the town consider this an "ugly" custom and say they hope to change it because it puts men of major age in a position of minor importance. Formerly men had to fulfill six turns in civil office, twice as regidor and twice as judge, to be considered free of further obligation. But now, because of increasing population (according to informants), this has been lowered to five required turns. The post which has been eliminated is that of assistant judge, which is now filled by a representative of one of the two barrios.

Throughout his career in office, a household head is expected to alternate between the civil and religious posts. Religious posts are considered less onerous since they require only six months of service, from the fiesta of San Pedro and San Pablo at the end of June until January 6, and the men are on duty only Sundays and holidays. A balanced number of six turns in each of the branches of the hierarchy was expected, prior to the reduction of the number of civil posts to five, to bring one to the end of one's career. In a census of 311 household heads made in 1964, passage in office shows a balance between posts undertaken in each wing of the hierarchy. Of 13 men over 70 years of age, five had completed service in civil and religious office. Three who had passed as president had served only once or twice in each wing of the hierarchy. The remaining five had a balanced but incomplete career.

In the religious hierarchy, a man passes first as *nič'anil kuč ha?*, 'minor who brings liquor.' Then he will pass as *?ali?bal*, the assistant to the *kobraria*, particularly charged with the slaughter of the bull for the large fiestas. These "servants" were not distinguished from other mayordomos in the initial listing of officers, but were mentioned in the description of fiesta

[P. 215-A]

activities. Following this, he then serves as *tatil* of any saint of minor rank, then as *tatil* of San Pedro Martyr or San Francisco, followed by a turn as *tatil* of the *kobraria* Virgin Santa Lucia, and finally as *tatil* of the *kobraria* Sacramento.

The Tzeltal role terms in both the civil and religious hierarchies reveal the preconquest age-ranking system. This is evident in the use of elder and junior

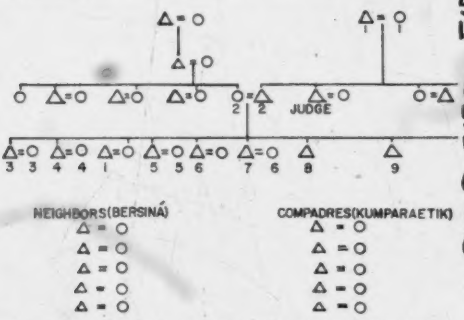

CHART 3 — ASSISTANTS AND PARTICIPANTS IN HOUSE FIESTA OF JUDGE (ELICITED)

Circles indicate women; triangles indicate men. For role term applying to number, see Chart 4.

titles for mayordomos (*tatil* and *nič' anil martoma*) and in the use of *mas mamališ* (more senior) for higher rank offices.

The informant's understanding of the hierarchy is that of a core of officeholders in three ranked segments (Chart 1). This is coded in the group terms for officials. Roles peripheral to the major categories such as those of rural judges, fiscal and women prayer-makers, are elicited only with repeated questioning or with reference to some event in which they function. These roles differ from those mentioned first in that they are either of little significance to the individual informant (this would explain the consistent omission of the rural judge by the people of the center) or are not part of the required posts incumbent upon every male household head to undertake (this might explain the omission of the president, síndico, principales and fiscales in the first eliciting session). Structural principles made explicit by the informants are (1) hierarchical rank, (2) progression from lower to higher posts, and (3) territorial balance in representation of the dual division. An implicit corollary of passage through offices beginning with lower ranks is the age grading of officeholders. Other structural aspects emerged in the description of behavior, described below.

[R 215-B]

9:Nash E-5 (1964) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tzo?ontahal

INFORMANTS' SEGMENTATION of behavior in the inauguration of civil and religious officials is based on responses to questions in Appendices 1 and 2. The description of the activities is organized in

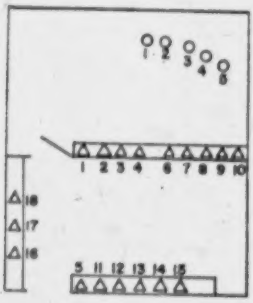

CHART 4 — MORNING, NEW YEAR'S DAY, HOUSE OF FIRST JUDGE (OBSERVED)

WOMEN (circles):
1 Woman speaker *(Me?il K'op)*
2 Second woman *(Skebal sme?)*
3 Third woman *(Yolebal sme?)*
4, 5 Women *(Me?eletik)*

MEN (triangles):
1-4 Nakawane
5 First judge *(Mam primeró Alkal)*
6 Second judge *(Alkal Skebal)*
7 Assistant judge of La Grandeza *(Hwes Suplente Bolibal)*
8 Assistant judge of Madronal *(Hwes Suplente Magronal)*
9 Assistant judge of San Caralampio *(Hwes Suplente Sankaralampio)*
10 Assistant judge of San Vicente *(Hwes Suplente San Bisente)*
11 First regidor *(Rehirol Primero)*
12 Second regidor *(Rihirol Skebal)*
13 Síndico *(Sintiku)*
14 Third regidor *(Rehirol Yolebal)*
15 Fourth regidor *(Rehirol Skanebal)*
16 *Balnial*
17 Liquor pourer *(P'it Ha?)*
18 *Balnial*

terms of settings and roles. For each segment of behavior an attempt will be made to analyze how the structural relations and values are spelled out in spatial location, mode of address, and activity.

The settings in which the change of civil officials is carried out are (1) the houses of the incoming officials, (2) the townhall, (3) the plaza, and (4) the church. In each arena, the validation and support of

male helpers who are usually wives of the *balnialetik*, or widows who are part of the official's or his wife's family. A fourth group are visitors who come to congratulate the new official. Particularly conspicuous because of their Ladino or non-Indian clothing in the house of the president (Chart 6) were the visitors from the outlying rancherías and colonias of Tzoʔontahal.

Validation in the household setting takes place in two scenes. The first occurs on the eve of New Year. Each new official entertains in his house the men he has chosen as his *nakawanchetik* and as his *balnialetik*. Only those *balnialetik* who are immediately related come to this gathering. The *meʔil kʼop*, 'woman speaker,' is present along with the wives of the *balnialetik* (Chart 2). The house is decorated with pine needles and juniper boughs in the afternoon. The visitors arrive with wood and pitchpine to light the house at about eight in the evening and stay until the liquor is finished. Drinking order is from elder to younger, which coincides with the prestige ranking. The *nakawanehetik* are served, then the *nitʼanil*.

The second household gathering takes place on the morning of the New Year. Major settings for such gatherings are the house of the first judge and the house of the new president. It is the duty of the fourth regidor to assemble the three other regidores, and of the assistant judge to assemble the other judges. The two groups, regidores and judges, meet in the first judge's house. They join the president at his house and then proceed to the townhall. The group of five police from *ahkʼolnantik* meet separately in the house of the first police of that side, and those of *alannantik* meet in the house of their first police.

The assembled officials proceed to the townhall, announcing with rockets to the policemen that they have left. Gathered in the townhall, referred to in the formal address or *patʔotʼan* as the *sik na*, 'cold house,'[9] are the 'old officials' *(kʼa huʼeletik)* along with the alfereces and the principales. They enter two by two, the president and síndico first, followed by the two first judges, the assistant judges, and the judges of the barrios and colonias. They kneel and 'measure their noses' *(spʼis sniʔik,)* as they enter, showing respect to the holy banners which the alfereces have delivered from the church.

[9] Bunzel (1952, p. 377) translates a formal speech in which the townhall of Chichicastenango is referred to as that "cold house, the icy house," but the Quiche word is not included. The pattern of double synonyms for nouns is present in these Quiche formal texts as in the Tzeltal.

[P 217-A]

reces have delivered from the church. The presence of the alfereces with their banners proclaims the link between civil and religious office.

The principales, now fairly inebriated after their long wait for the arrival of the new officials, pass out the staffs, assisted by the old president who helps direct them as they wander in a daze from the table to the new officials. The intoxicated state of the principales is never mentioned in elicited statements. The act of passing over the staffs is a significant index to their role in the hierarchy. As the only "permanent"

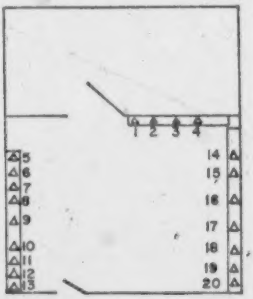

CHART 5 — MORNING, HOUSE OF PRESIDENT, NEW YEAR'S DAY (ELICITED)

OFFICIALS (all men):

1 Nakawane
2 President
3, 4 Nakawane
5 First judge
6 Second judge
7 Síndico
8, 9 Assistant judges
10 First regidor
11 Second regidor
12 Third regidor
13 Fourth regidor
14-20 *Balnialetik*

incumbents—permanent so long as they are alive, healthy, and not impoverished—they are the link between the outgoing and incoming officials. When all the old officials have retired to their homes following the ceremony, and the new officials have gone on to the church, the principales wait in the townhall for the new officials to return for the afternoon drinking session in which they will join, as they had done in the morning with the old officials.

Wearing their rosaries, the new officials follow the alfereces out of the townhall in a procession. Holding the holy banners, the alfereces line up before the townhall, dip their banners, and proceed to the

church where the same reverence is accorded to the church. The order of the procession following them indicates the rank order of the officials, from the *spoil mayol*, the last policeman, to the first and second judge (Chart 9). The precedence of the first two

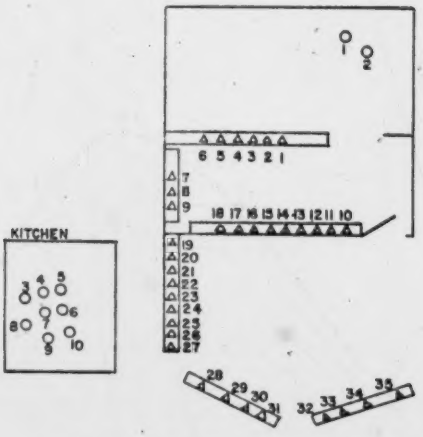

CHART 6 — MORNING, NEW YEAR'S DAY, HOUSE OF NEW PRESIDENT (OBSERVED)

WOMEN (circles):

1 Woman speaker *(Me'il k'op)*, comadre president
2 Second woman, neighbor
3-10 *Wanchetik*

MEN (triangles):

1 First Nakawane
2 Second Nakawane
3 Third Nakawane, brother of president
4 President
5, 6 Visitors from Colonias
7-9 *Balnialetik*
10 First judge
11 Second judge
12 First regidor
13 Second regidor
14 Third regidor
15 Fourth regidor
16 Assistant judge of Madronal
17 Assistant judge of La Grandeza
18 Assistant judge of San Caralampio
19-35 Visitors

judges over the president and síndico reverses that which was taken as they enter the church. There may be some permissible variation here, since the elicited version of the former president indicates that they should enter last. Possibly the threat of assassination (p. 223) caused them to enter before the judges as a security measure. The procession makes two turns

[P. 218-A]

Change of Officials

621*
788
554
693

"to show [the townspeople assembled in the plaza] who the new officials to remain in office are."

Awaiting the new officials in the church are all the mayordomos. Their function is "to watch the officials as they enter to see who they are" (App. 1, Q. 48, 49). The new officials "speak to God," asking for health so that they can complete their obligation to the town. They kiss each of the saints' pedestals and then leave the "holy mother church" to return to the "holy father townhall." There they spend the remainder of the afternoon.

621* 794 [782] [788]

The mayordomos go to the kitchen attached to the townhall. The first policeman directs the purchase of liquor and the measuring out of drinks for the ten policemen from the two sides of the dual division and the two rural commissioners. In the townhall the new president's first orders are to the fourth regidor to ask him to buy two liters of "the gift," liquor. The pardon to the ancestors, and the offering of the gift to the principales, is in the hands of the first judge, who knows the *pat?ot'an*, and can do the honors. The president is served following the principales in the round of drinking.

621* 273 [794] [625] [693] [782] [431] [537]

The change of religious officials takes place on the fiesta day of San Pedro and San Pablo, June 29, and on the day of the three Kings, January 6. This provides a six-month term of office. The new officials gather in the homes of the *kobraria* of Halal me?tik and Sakramentu, and in the church. Thus two settings, home and church, come into play with the change of civil officials, but the townhall, significantly, is not part of this act nor are the alfereces called into action.

794 796

The ceremony lasts three days: first day is *pas kantelero*, 'to make candles,' when the candles are cleaned, and the old mayordomos eat a "common meal" *(komun we?el)*; second day is *wiš peres*, when the oath is taken; final day is *sk'ahk'alel*, when the new mayordomos play the drums or flute.

The first gathering, which took place the year I observed it in the house of the *kobraria* of Halal Me?tik Santalusia, was cut short because the *kobraria* did not have a porch, and it had begun raining. By local standards, a house without a porch is considered inadequate, and is called 'cow house' *(wakaš na?)* since the owner cannot accommodate guests on such occasions. The group therefore lingered longer in the house of the *kobraria* of Sakramentu.

[362]

The speech of the *nakawane* to the "elder new mayordomos" *(mamal ?ač martomaetik)* (App. 2,

[537]

[P. 218-B]

9:Nash E-5 (1964) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tzo?ontahal

Q. 68) is a review of the major activities in which they will take part in the church. The phrase 'before the face of,' *ta sit*, is the orientation he indicates to the new mayordomos to perform these acts.

The ceremony in the church when the mayordomos receive their candles is limited to the few words of advice spoken to them by the fiscal and the passing over of the candles. There is no representation by the civil authorities in the ceremonial aspect of installation, although the fiscal, in his dual office as assistant to the priest and as president, indirectly takes this role. The alfereces, who provide the link on other occasions for the civil officers' inauguration, are not active during this changing of the religious officers. Following the ceremony inside the church, the town treasurer and síndico help the fiscal count the money passed over with each *kobraria*. Thus the "integration" of the hierarchy is asymmetrical, providing for a church representation in civil affairs, but only in a limited sense is there the reverse.

The mayordomos return to the house of the *kobraria* Sakramentu. The *nakawanchetik* have lost their place of honor at the *hol wanku*, 'head of the bench,' and are sleeping under the bench or in the corner. Their presence is no longer socially marked, and it is not a point which was elicited.

The behavior during the inauguration of civil officials showed the following structural features. The hierarchy of civil officials is not a smooth stepladder but a segmented order. The categories elicited in the first session with the informant—*alkaletik*, *rehiroletik*, and *mayoletik*—act in concert, move in unison, and sit in the same areas in all the settings (App. 1, Q. 14, 15, 51, 64–74). Each of the three categories has its internal hierarchy, ranging from first to fourth, physically denoted by the order in which they sit and drink. Those who speak the greetings are the men in the first position of each category. They order their group or the group immediately below them. Thus, the judge issues an order to the fourth regidor to get liquor (App. 1, Q. 55) and the first police orders the commissioner from the rural colonias to get liquor for their group (App. 1, Q. 79). In these behavioral indices one can see the segmentation of the civil hierarchy, ordered by age, skill acquired in the expensive office of alferez, and territorial identification. Age grading is absolute only between the segments, and is roughly applicable within each segment.

In the inauguration of the religious officials, elder and younger officials associated with each saint act

[P 219-A] TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 220-A

9:Nash E-5 (1964) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tzo?ontahal

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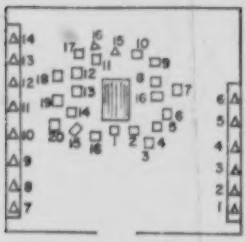

CHART 7 — TOWNHALL, NEW YEAR'S DAY, TAKING OATH OF OFFICE (ELICITED)

OLD OFFICIALS (triangles):

1 First principal
2 Second principal
3 Elder past alférez
4 Remaining past alférez
5 Third past alférez
6 Junior alférez
7 First judge
8 Second judge
9 Third judge
10 Fourth judge
11 First regidor
12 Second regidor
13 Third regidor
14 Fourth regidor
15 President
16 Síndico

NEW OFFICIALS (squares):

1 President
2 Síndico
3 First judge
4 Second judge
5 Third judge
6 Fourth judge
7 First regidor
8 Second regidor
9 Third regidor
10 Fourth regidor
11 First police *(Ahk'olnantik)*
12 Second police *(Ahk'olnantik)*
13 Third police *(Ahk'olnantik)*
14 Fourth police *(Ahk'olnantik)*
15 Last police *(Ahk'olnantik)*
16 First police *(Alannantik)*
17 Second police *(Alannantik)*
18 Third police *(Alannantik)*
19 Fourth police *(Alannantik)*
20 Fifth police *(Alannantik)*

NOTE: Canes of office are on table near center of room.

[P. 219-B]

9:Nash E-5 (1964) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tzo?ontahal

as a team. Thus the junior *(nič'anil)* and senior *(tatil)* officials walk and sit in pairs. The senior officials order the junior. Just as in the case of the civil officials, some junior mayordomos may be younger than others who are in lower positions, because they have passed in the lower offices at an earlier age, but all senior mayordomos are older than their paired juniors.

Another important structural feature that became apparent in the behavioral schedules is the household base establishing the officeholders' position in both hierarchies. The new official learns his role obligations from the *nakawanchetik*, the group of elders

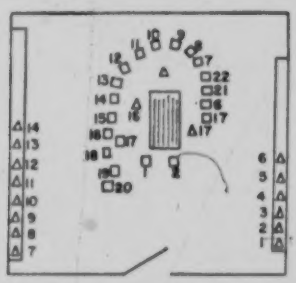

CHART 8 — INSIDE THE TOWNHALL, NEW YEAR'S DAY, TAKING THE OATH (OBSERVED)

Old officials are indicated by triangles, new officials by squares. Numbers refer to list on Chart 7. Three officials—the old secretary (17) and two new rural judges (21 and 22)—were not listed in the elicited session, Chart 7. Canes of office are on the table near the center of the room. Numbers refer to role terms in Chart 7.

who assemble in his house and who will assist him in his period in office. The ceremony in the house establishes this as a significant domain in public affairs. Relatives, neighbors, and compadres make up the interlocking network of supporters in the setting of the household. Both husband's and wife's relatives are symmetrically represented (Chart 3; see also J. Nash, 1964b, report on alferez assistants). Because of the expenses and the commitment of time during the period of office, the officials must have this backing to fulfill their obligations. A man with many compadres and godchildren has a firmer base to support his career in office. In the case of the new president, this was mentioned as an important asset by the president's brother. The guest list (Charts 3, 4) reveals the multiple references which establish the individual's role during any event.

[P 220-A]

9:Nash E-5 (1964) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tzo?ontahal

CHANGE OF OFFICIALS Replication of behavior in both civil and religious inauguration is also seen in the house ceremonies. Prior to setting out to the townhall or to the church, the new officials acquire a sense of the sacred obligations they are about to undertake from the words of the *nakawanehetik*.

The major behavioral schema are established in the settings in which activities occur. In each setting, the actors assert status in a social arrangement by their position in a physical arrangement: seating order clockwise from the door indicates rank order in all settings. The same act has a different significance in each setting. For example, drinking in the townhall differs from drinking in the house because it ties together different sets of actors.[10] As the actors move from one setting to the next, they are accompanied by some of the members linking them to the prior setting, as when the *nakawanehetik* accompany the president to the townhall.

The significance of setting in allocating roles is evident in the Tzeltal terms for categories of officials: religious officials are called "officials in the church" *(?a?teletik te ta ?ulna)* and civil officials are called "officials in the townhall" *(?a?teletik te ta ?ulna)*. If my guess concerning the derivation of the term *nakawane* from house officials is correct (note 6), then this category derives its name from the locus in which authority is recognized.

The analysis of behavior, or roles in action, corroborates some of the understandings gained from eliciting the structure, but requires some modification. The segmentary character of the hierarchy is evidenced in the domain, action, and the timing of action. However, qualifications of the elicited model must be made on the basis of the behavioral data. First, the asymmetry of the links between civil and religious officials in the church setting as compared with the townhall setting requires a qualification of the meaning of the integration for the two wings.

[10] This adds a further caveat to the "behaviorist fallacies" pointed out by Lewin (1951, p. 79) when the psychological setting is ignored in the description of the physical dimension of an act.

[R 221-A)

9:Nash E-5 (1964) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
-Tzo?ontahal

Second, the house ceremonials require the addition of this segment to complement the civil and religious structures so that we have a triadic set of officials—civil, religious and household—rather than a dyadic set as is usually described for Mesoamerican communities.

Agent, place, time, and acts, both verbal and motor,

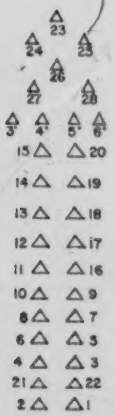

CHART 9 — PROCESSION, NEW YEAR'S DAY (ELICITED)

OFFICIALS:

3-6 Alfereces
23 Guitarist *(alpuštero)*
24, 25 Firecracker lighters *(tomese ti?bak)*
26 Flautist *(yamai)*
27, 28 Drummers *(stihik sk'ayobik)*

Remaining numbers refer to role terms in Chart 7, in addition to 21 and 22, rural judges listed in Chart 8.

carefully described, are the pegs on which comparative analysis can be hung. What we lose in literary value in ethnographic accounts, we may gain in making explicit the inductive bases of structural functional analyses. Once we understand the principles involved in the assignment of position or action in any setting, variations from the elicited and observed pattern provide clues to social change within small time periods.

[P. 221-B)

9:Nash E-5 (1964) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tzo?ontahal

MOST ETHNOGRAPHIC REPORTS on the civil-religious hierarchy emphasize status and the functional goal of community integration. What we have failed to impart is the dynamic aspect of status, role. In the divergences between expected and enacted patterns of behavior in those occasions when the individual

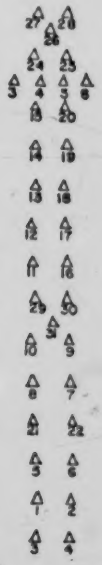

CHART 10 — NEW YEAR'S DAY PROCESSION OF NEW OFFICIALS (OBSERVED)

OFFICIALS:
29, 30, 31 Comisarios of San Vicente, San Caralampio, and Cruz Quemada

Remaining numbers refer to role terms in Charts 7 and 9.

"puts into effect the rights and duties which constitute the status" (Linton, 1936, p. 114), we have micrometers to the measurement of change. The details of change may be small—for example, a shift in the lineup of officials in a procession—but it may be a clue to important organizational changes. The behavioral changes in details of this sort provide cues to eliciting information that will explain the divergences. An important supplement to these cues are the unsolicited comments of informants. Sometimes

[P 222-A]

Third, there was opposition on the score that the president had never passed in any other public office. The only incident revealing the discontent was the firing of eight shots at (or above) the president's brother following the house festival on the eve of the inauguration.

The principales, who "formerly were the ones who ruled," no longer have a part in the power struggle

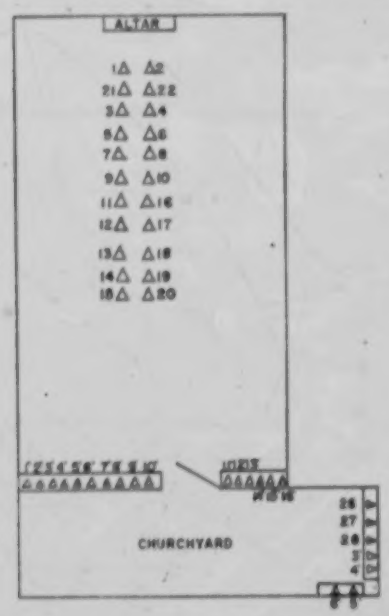

CHART 11 — NEW OFFICIALS INSIDE CHURCH, NEW YEAR'S DAY

OFFICIALS:
1'-16' Mayordomos

Remaining numbers refer to officials listed in Charts 7-9.

which centers on party membership and economic competition. Their ceremonial role in rituals is preserved as a link with the past as well as a sign of continuity between old and new officials.

In the inauguration of the religious officials, divergence in the elicited and the observed event (App. 2, column 4) occurred first of all in the shift of locale for the common meal from the churchyard to the house of the *?ali?bal* instead of in the churchyard (App. 2, Q. 19). This was a clue to the power struggle going on in the church. When I questioned my informant about the disparity, he told me the following story:

[P. 223-B]

"Why don't you call in the civil guard?"

They will say we are women, that we are afraid. My brother wants to, however.

He communicated several things in this deviation from the eliciting schedule:

Many assassinations are committed regularly in Tzo?ontahal.
They usually occur at fiestas.
The only recourse is to kill one's enemy.
I am a killer, therefore I am prepared to protect myself.
Everyone knows I am a killer.
When I killed, it wasn't a murder but an execution.

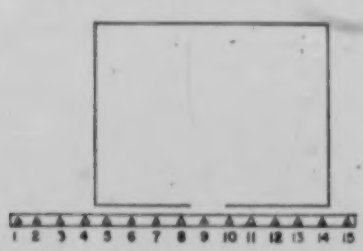

CHART 13 — HOUSE OF THE COFRADE OF THE VIRGIN SANTA LUCIA, FIESTA OF SAN PEDRO SAN PABLO (OBSERVED)

OFFICIALS:

1 Cofrade of Virgin Santa Lucia *(Kobraria Halal Me?tik)*
2 Elder of San Pedro Martyr *(Tatil Yu?un Martil)*
3 Assistant junior for Sacramento *(Ali?bal Nił'nal yu?un Sakramentu)*
4 Assistant junior for Virgin Santa Lucia *(Ali?bal Nił'nal yu?un Halal Me?tik)*
5 Elder for the Christ of the Ascension *(Tatil yu?un Tatik Sanpranxiku)*
6 Elder for San Antonio *(Tatil yu?un Sanantoniu)*
7 Elder for Virgin Rosario *(Tatil Halal Me?tik Rosario)*
8 Elder for Santiago *(Tatil yu?un Santiagu)*
9 Elder for San Jose *(Tatil yu?un Sanhosé)*
10 Junior for San Antonio *(Nił'nal yu?un Sanantoniu)*
11 Junior for Santiago *(Nił'nal yu?un Santiagu)*
12 Junior for San Pedro Martyr *(Nił'nal yu?un Martil)*
13 Junior for Virgin Rosario *(Nił'nal yu?un Me?tik Rosario)*
14 Junior for San Jose *(Nił'nal yu?un Sanhosé)*
15 Junior for Christ of the Ascension *(Nił'nal yu?un Sanpranxiku)*

Since the informant expected that there might be an attempt made on his life in the approaching inaugural ceremony, he was advertising his own strength and willingness to defend himself even if it meant killing his enemy. I was an audience for him to try on poses of self-assertion.

[P. 225-B]

9:Nash E-5 (1964) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tzo?ontahal

I SUMMARIZE the evidence offered in the inaugural acts first in terms of a functional analysis of the ceremonial behavior and second in terms of structural and organizational changes revealed in the strategies of interaction. The following goals are attained in the rituals of inauguration:

1. *Preservation of continuity.* In the highland Maya Indian communities the problem of maintaining continuity is crucial because most of the offices

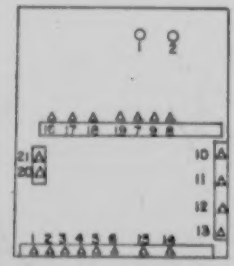

CHART 14 — HOUSE OF THE COFRADE OF SACRAMENTO, FIESTA OF SAN PEDRO SAN PABLO (OBSERVED)

WOMEN (circles):
1 *Me?il K'op*
2 *Sčebal sme?*

MEN (triangles):
16 Cofrade of Sacramento *(Kobrarıa Sakramentó)*
17 First Nakawane *(Sba Nakawane)*
18 Second Nakawane *(Sčebal Nakawane)*
19 Third Nakawane *(Yolebal Nakawane)*
20, 21 Guitarist *(Balnial Alpultsro)*

Remaining numerals refer to role terms listed in Chart 13.

are changed simultaneously. The emphasis on continuity is evident, first of all, in the repetition of bodily and verbal performances. Repetitive behavior, the essence of all ritual, provides that fulfillment of expectation which assures participants in a performance of a link with the past. Bunzel (1952, p. 251) has shown that this familiarity of ritual "sets" in a variety of ceremonials provides linkage with the past in the inauguration in Chichicastenango. Repetition in behavior is reinforced by verbal references to perform-

9:Nash E-5 (1964) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tzo?ontahal

ing "what our mothers and fathers did" (App. 1, Q. 19; App. 2, Q. 37, Q. 64). Second, continuity can be seen in the presence of both old and new officials in the townhall. In this setting, the old officials acknowledge acceptance of the new officials (App. 1, Q. 28). Finally, of greatest importance in establishing continuity are the principales, who await the arrival of the new officials with the old officials (App. 1, Q. 28) who pass over the symbol of authority (App. 1, Q. 31), and who remain alone in the townhall for the return of the new officials, when they have gone to church.

2. *Role commitment.* The officials are members of closed corporate communities, integrated in a prior set of kinship and other social relations. They cannot rely on anonymity when acting in their official capacity as judge or policeman. Thus one of the functions of the inauguration as a rite of passage is a disengagement from the preexisting network of obligations and a commitment to the obligations of the office (cf. Parsons, 1951, pp. 80–84; Gluckman, 1962, p. 34; Cancian, 1964). Behaviorally, this function is indicated in the unfailing use of the term *Mam* (elder respect term) in both address and reference. The reference to the holy nature of their task (App. 1, Q. 19) and of the symbol of their authority, the "holy" staff (App. 1, Q. 30) which they always carry when discharging an official errand, establishes the supernatural authority on which the role is based. The effectiveness of these symbolic role identities in neutralizing prior affective commitments can partially be judged in that most dispute cases are brought before the local courts rather than referred to higher courts, suggesting that the complainant expects fair treatment.

3. *Role learning.* The inauguration provides a setting in which the individual who is about to assume office learns what is expected of him (cf. Fortes, 1962, p. 82). The instruction of the novice officeholder is acquired most importantly in the home from the speeches of the *nakawanchetik* and cofrades (App. 1, Q. 19; App. 2, Q. 37, Q. 38, Q. 64) and in the directions he may be given in the ceremonial setting (App. 2, Q. 39, observation).

4. *Introduction of new officeholders to the villagers.* The new status of the officeholders is made

public in the procession around the plaza (App. 1, Q. 39). The mayordomos gather in the church specifically to view the new incumbents (App. 1, Q. 50). There is less public display of new officeholders in the case of the religious officials than in the case of civil officials.

The morphological description of the structure of a society is inadequate unless it includes role behavior as well as status positions. The behavioral data pro-

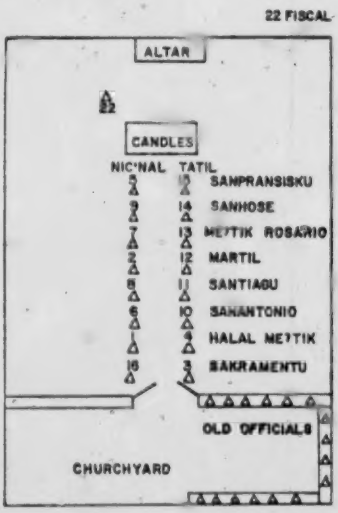

CHART 15 — NEW MAYORDOMOS INSIDE CHURCH, FIESTA OF SAN PEDRO SAN PABLO (OBSERVED)

vide the basis for describing the physiology of a culture, or how actors and social groups interrelate in carrying out tasks. In the inaugurations, the household emerged in the behavioral descriptions as an important ritual domain supporting the civil and religious hierarchy. Similarly, the asymmetrical relation between the role of religious officials in the civil inauguration and that of civil officials in the religious

[P. 228-A)

9:Nash E-5 (1964) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tzo?ontahal

inauguration is deducted from both elicited and observed behavior. These data complement the elicited material on structure in rounding out the ethnographic model of social reality.

Specification of the behavioral data on which structural and functional statements are made should provide the basis for more precise comparisons over time and between communities. I turn to the observed interaction to summarize the evidence for microchange within the community.

Outside of the formally prescribed behavior scheduled in the inauguration, a struggle for power is going on which is leading to important organizational changes in the town. This was suggested in the substitution of the schoolteacher for the former Ladino secretary in the act of giving the oath. Factional struggle of the leaders of the new enterprises was revealed in this substitution. Further evidence of change is seen in the redefinition of the president's position in relation to that of the principales. The potential power which the post offers to the incumbent and those who back him is now recognized. The risks are higher as the competition for the post increases.

In the religious sphere the priest's increasing control over the domain of the church is seen in the shift of setting for the common meal from the churchyard to the *?ali?bal's* house. This evoked the story of the open confrontation of the priest and cofrades a few years before. Public counting of funds by civil officials suggests an attempt by the new leadership to thwart the priest's dominance over the cofrades.

In the emergent struggle for power within the community, we see not just a defensive reaction to Ladinos by Indians of a corporate community, but a play for stakes in the same world. This suggests that the corporate community, now and in the future, serves not so much as an insulation from the outside world as in the past but as a springboard for the entry of the Indians into fuller participation in the national society.

[P 228-B]

9:Nash E-5 (1964) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tzoʔontahal

APPENDIX 3A—SUMMARY OF SETTINGS, ROLE, AND BEHAVIOR IN CIVIL INAUGURATION

	SETTING	ROLE (terms in capital letters refer to groups)	RELATIONSHIP	BEHAVIOR
*621 105 192 554 593 [574]	House, evening of inauguration	*ʔAČ'AʔTEL*, new officials	Ego	Receives guests, sits next to leader *nakawane*
		NAKAWANEHETIK, house officials	Father of new official or elder of neighborhood who has passed in higher offices (first regidor and elder mayordomo)	Initiates greetings; sits in head seat
		BALNIALETIK, assistants	Sons of new officials, husbands of daughters or of sisters	Serve food, measure drinks
[608]		*ʔAK'SIETIK*, wood gatherers	Neighbors, compadres, brothers	Bring wood, eat, drink
		MEʔELETIK, Meʔil K'op, woman speaker Yinam, wife	Mother, or elder relative	Responds to *nakawane's* greetings
		SKOLTAWANEHETIK, helpers		Serves food. Cook food, dish out food, eat
*621 105 192 554 [593] [602] [608] [574]	House, morning of inauguration	*NAKAWANEHETIK*, house officials	Father and/or elder neighbors	Initiates greetings, addresses blessing to liquor
		AʔTELETIK ALKALETIK REHIROLETIK, judges, regidores	Men of village	Receive food and liquor
		BALNIALETIK, assistants	Brothers-in-law, godsons, compadres, fa's sis's sons, brother, comadre's son, neighbors	Serve food, measure drink
		YULATAK, visitors	Men from rural colonias	Give *abrazo*, embrace, to new president, eat, drink
		MEʔELETIK, women Meʔil k'op Sčebal Smeʔ Yoɬebal Smeʔ	Mother or elder relative ʔ ʔ ʔ	Responds to *nakawane's* and *alkal's* greeting. Orders women in serving of food
		ŠKOLTAWANEHETIK, helpers	(See Chart 3)	Cooks food, dishes out food
[794]	Townhall, morning session, civil inauguration	*K'AʔAʔTELETIK*, old officials	Men of village	Drink; wait for new officials seated
		ʔALPERESETIK, alfereces	Men of village	Bring banners from church, drink wait for new officials

9:Nash E-5 (1964) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tzo?ontahal

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	KRINSIPALETIK, principales	Two men who have passed through five offices in civil and six in religious hierarchy	Address greetings to old first judge; drink, greet new officials pass over staffs
	?AČ'?A?TELETIK, new officials	Men of village	Receive oath
	Professor		Gives oath
Plaza, noon	*TĖKLUM,* Village (people) *Spiṉil Me?eletik,* all the women *Spiṉil Winketik,* all the men	Men and women of village	Look to see who the new officials are
[188]	*?AC'?A?TELETIK,* new officials		Make two turns in procession
[194]	*?ALPERESETIK,* alfereces		Lead procession with banners
	BALNIALETIK, assistants	Two of president's assistants	Play flute and drum, light firecrackers
[194] Church, noon	*MARTOMAETIK,* mayordomos		Look to see new officials
	FIŠKAL, fiscal		Look to see new official
	?AČ' A?TELETIK, new officials		Speak to God
Townhall, afternoon	*?AČ' A?TELETIK,* new officials		Drink with *krinsipaletik*
	KRINSIPALETIK, principales		Drink with new officials

9:Nash E-5 (1964) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tzo?ontahal

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APPENDIX 3B—SUMMARY OF SETTINGS, ROLE, AND BEHAVIOR IN RELIGIOUS INAUGURATION

SETTING	ROLE (terms in capital letters refer to groups)	RELATIONSHIP	BEHAVIOR
[574] House of kobraria Sacramento, morning of inauguration	KOBRARIA SAKRAMENTU	Ego	Receives guests; sits at first seat on outside wall near door
[604] [605]	NAKAWANEHETIK	Fa's brother and fa's brother's sons	Initiates greetings, sits at head seat
[593] [608]	BALNIALETIK	Sons, sons of campadres, neighbors	Serve liquor, food
[602]	ME?ELETIK, women	Elder female relative	Responds to *nakawane's* greetings, orders helpers
[608]	Me?ilk'op, woman speaker		
	ŠKOLTAWANEHETIK, helpers	Comadres, sisters, neighbors	Prepare food, coffee
	MARTOMAETIK 3 KOBRARIA TATILETIK NIČ'ANILETIK		Eat and drink. Listen to advice of *nakawanehetik*
Church, morning of inauguration	PIŠKAL, fiscal KURA, priest ?AČ'MARTOMAETIK, new mayordomos K'A MARTOMAETIK, old mayordomos		Advises mayordomos of duties. Divides up candles brought by mayordomos; hands them to new mayordomos